

THE
LETTERS
OF
FABIUS,
IN 1788,
ON THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION;
AND
IN 1797,
ON THE PRESENT SITUATION
OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

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FROM THE OFFICE OF THE DELAWARE
GAZETTE, WILMINGTON,
BY W. C. SMYTH.

1797.

The EDITOR to the PUBLIC.

THE first Nine Letters in this Collection, published in the beginning of the Year 1788, were occasioned by an alarming hesitation of some States to ratify the Constitution proposed by the Federal Convention in 1787.

They appeared separately in News-papers; and have never been published together, before the present Edition.

Some Notes are added of Extracts from "THE RIGHTS OF MAN," published about three Years after these Letters, containing similar sentiments, expressed with a remarkable resemblance of Language, especially on the two great subjects—the ORGANIZATION of a CONSTITUTION from *original* rights, and the FORMATION of GOVERNMENT from *contributed* rights, both of so much importance in laying regular FOUNDATIONS of Civil Society, and consequently in securing the advancement of HUMAN HAPPINESS.

The last set of Letters was caused by the extraordinary call of Congress, on the 25th Day of March, 1797.

Delaware } (No. 2.)
District. } to wit.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twentieth day of September, in the twenty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, *William Catherwood Smyth*, of the said district, hath deposited in this Office, the Title of a Book, the Right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following: to wit. "THE LETTERS OF FABIUS, IN 1788, ON THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, AND IN 1797, ON THE PRESENT SITUATION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS." In conformity to the Act of the Congress of The United States, intitled, "An Act for the encouragement of Learning," by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors, and to Proprietors of such Copies, during the times therein mentioned.

JOHN CONWAY, Clk.
 Delaware District.

I DO CERTIFY, that the above is a true Copy of the Record thereof, as remaining of Record. IN TESTIMONY whereof, I have hereto set my hand, and affixed the seal of the District aforesaid, on the Day and Year first mentioned, in the above Copy.

L. S.

JOHN CONWAY, Clk.
 Delaware District.

THE
LETTERS
OF
FABIUS:
CONTAINING,
OBSERVATIONS on the CONSTITUTION
PROPOSED BY THE
FEDERAL CONVENTION.

LETTER I.

THE Constitution proposed by the Federal Convention now engages the fixed attention of *America*.

Every person appears to be affected. Those who wish the adoption of the plan, consider its rejection as the source of endless contests, confusions, and misfortunes; and they also consider a resolution to alter, without previously adopting it, as a rejection.

Those who oppose the plan, are influenced by different views. Some of them are friends, others of them are enemies, to *The United States*.

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The latter are of two classes; either men without principles or fortunes, who think they may have a chance to mend their circumstances, *with impunity*, under a *weak government*, or in *public convulsions*, but cannot make them worse even by the last—or men who have been always averse to the revolution; and though at first confounded by that event, yet, their hopes reviving with the declension of our affairs, have since persuaded themselves, that at length the people, tired out with their continued distresses, will return to their former connection with *Great Britain*. To argue with these opposers, would be vain—The other opposers of the plan deserve the highest respect.

WHAT CONCERNS ALL, SHOULD BE CONSIDERED BY ALL; and individuals may injure a whole society, by not declaring their sentiments. It is therefore not only their *right*, but their *duty*, to declare them. Weak advocates of a good cause or artful advocates of a bad one, may endeavour to stop such communications, or to discredit them by clamour and calumny. This, however, is not the age for such tricks of controversy. Men have suffered so severely by being deceived upon subjects of the highest import, those of *religion* and *freedom*, that *TRUTH* becomes infinitely valuable to them, not as a matter of curious speculation, but of beneficial practice—A spirit of inquiry is excited, information diffused, judgment strengthened.

Before this tribunal of THE PEOPLE, let every one freely speak, what he really thinks,

but with so sincere a reverence for the cause he ventures to discuss, as to use the utmost caution, lest he should lead any into errors, upon a point of such sacred concern as *the public happiness*.

It is not the design of this address, to describe the present derangement of our affairs, the mischiefs that must ensue from its continuance, the horrors of a total dissolution of the union, or of the division of it into partial confederacies. Nor is it intended to describe the evils that will result from pursuing the plan of another Federal Convention; as if a better temper of conciliation, or a more satisfactory harmony of decisions, could be expected from men, after their minds are agitated with disgusts and disappointments, than before they were thus disturbed; though from an uncontradicted assertion it appears, that without such provocations, the difficulty of reconciling the interests of the several states was so near to **INSUPERABLE**, in the late convention, that after many weeks spent in the most faithful labours to promote concord, the members were upon the very point of dispersing in the utmost disorder, jealousy and resentment, and leaving the states exposed to all the tempests of passions, that have been so fatal to confederacies of republics.

All these things, with observations on particular articles of the constitution, have been laid before the public, and the writer of this address means not to repeat what has been already said. What he wishes, is to *simplify*

the subject, so as to facilitate the inquiries of his fellow citizens.

Many are the objections made to the system proposed. They should be distinguished. Some may be called *local*, because they spring from the supposed interests of individual states. Thus, for instance, some inhabitants of large states may desire the system to be so altered, that they may possess more authority in the decisions of the government; or some inhabitants of commercial states may desire it to be so altered, that the advantages of trade may center almost wholly among themselves; and this predilection they may think compatible with the common welfare. Their judgment being thus warp'd, at the beginning of their deliberations, objections are accumulated as very important, that, without this prepossession, would never have obtained their approbation. Certain it is, that strong understandings may be so influenced by this insulated patriotism, as to doubt—whether general benefits can be communicated by a general government.*

Probably nothing would operate so much for the correction of these errors, as the perusal of the accounts transmitted to us by the ancients, of the calamities occasioned in *Greece* by a conduct founded on similar mistakes. They are expressly ascribed to this cause—that *each city meditated a part on its own profit and ends*—*insomuch that those who seemed to contend for union, could never relinquish their own in-*

* See some late publications.

terests and advancement, while they deliberated for the public.

Heaven grant! that our countrymen may pause in time—duly estimate the present moment—and solemnly reflect—whether their measures may not tend to draw down the same distractions upon us, that desolated *Greece*.

They may now tolerably judge from the proceedings of the Federal Convention and of other conventions, what are the sentiments of *America* upon her present and future prospects. Let the voice of her distress be venerated—and adhering to the generous *Virginian* declaration, let them resolve to “ CLING TO UNION AS THE POLITICAL ROCK OF OUR SALVATION.”

FABIUS.

PHILADELPHIA, }
April 10, 1788. }

LETTER II.

BUT besides the objections originating from the before mentioned cause, that have been called *local*, there are other objections that are supposed to arise from *maxims of liberty and policy*.—

Hence it is inferred, that the proposed system has such inherent vices, as must necessarily produce a bad administration, and at length the oppression of a monarchy and aristocracy in the federal officers.

The writer of this address being convinced by as exact an investigation as he could make, that such mistakes may lead to the perdition of his country, esteems it his indispensable duty, strenuously to contend, that—THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE pervading the proposed system, together with the STRONG CONFEDERATION OF THE STATES, forms an adequate security against *every* danger that has been apprehended.

If this single assertion can be supported by facts and arguments, there will be reason to hope, that anxieties will be removed from the minds of some citizens, who are truly devoted to the interests of *America*, and who have been thrown into perplexities, by the mazes of multiplied and intricate disquisitions.

The objectors agree, that the *confederation of the states will be strong*, according to the system proposed, and *so strong*, that many of them loudly complain of that strength. On this part of the assertion, there is no dispute: But some of the objections that have been published,

strike at another part of the principle assumed, and deny, that the system is sufficiently founded on *the power of the people*.

The course of regular inquiry demands, that these objections should be considered in the first place. If they are removed, then *all the rest* of the objections, concerning unnecessary taxations, standing armies, the abolishment of trial by jury, the liberty of the press, the freedom of commerce, the judicial, executive, and legislative authorities of the several states, and the rights of citizens, and the other abuses of federal government, must, of consequence, be rejected, if the principle contains the salutary, purifying, and preserving qualities attributed to it. The question then will be—*Not what may be done, when the government shall be turned into a tyranny; but how the government can be so turned?*

Thus unembarrassed by subordinate discussions, we may come fairly to the contemplation of *that* superior point, and be better enabled to discover, whether our attention to it will afford any lights, whereby we may be conducted to *peace, liberty, and safety*.

The objections, denying that the system proposed is sufficiently founded on *the power of the people*, state, that the *number* of the federal trustees or officers, is too *small*, and that they are to hold their *offices* *too long*.

One would really have supposed, that *smallness of number* could not be termed a cause of danger, as *influence* must increase with *enlargement*. If this is a fault, it will soon be cor-

rected, as an addition will be often made to the number of the *senators*, and, a much greater and more frequently, to that of the *representatives*; and in all probability much sooner, than we shall be able and willing to bear the expence of the addition.

As to the *senate*, it never can be, and it never ought to be large, if it is to possess the powers, which almost all the objectors seem inclined to allot to it, as will be evident to every intelligent person, who considers those powers.

Though small, let it be remembered, that it is to be created by the *sovereignties* of the several states; that is, by the persons, whom *the people* of each state shall judge to be *most worthy*, and who, surely, will be religiously attentive to making a selection, in which the interest and honour of their state will be so deeply concerned. It should be remembered too, that this is *the same manner*, in which the members of Congress are *now* appointed; and that *herein*, the *sovereignties* of the states are so intimately involved, that however a *renunciation* of part of these powers may be desired by *some of the states*, it **NEVER** will be obtained from *the rest* of them. Peaceable, fraternal, and benevolent as *these* are, they think, the concessions *they* have made, ought to satisfy *all*.

That the *senate* may always be kept *full*, without the interference of Congress, it is provided in the system, that if vacancies happen by *resignation* or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the *executive* thereof may make *temporary* appointments, until the

next meeting of the legislature, which *shall* then fill up such vacancies.

As to the *house of representatives*, it is to consist of a number of persons, not exceeding one for every thirty thousand: But each state shall have at least one representative. The electors will reside, widely dispersed, over an extensive country. Cabal and corruption will be as impracticable, as, on such occasions, human institutions can render them. *The will of freemen*, thus circumstanced, will give the *fiat*. The purity of election thus obtained, will amply compensate for the supposed defect of representation; and the members, *thus chosen*, will be most apt to harmonize in their proceedings, with *the general* interests, feelings, and sentiments of the people.

Allowing such an increase of population as, from experience and a variety of causes, may be expected, the *representatives*, in a short period, will amount to several hundreds, and most probably long before any change of manners for the worse, that might tempt or encourage our rulers to mal-administration, will take place on this continent.

That *this house* may *always* be kept *full*, without the interference of Congress, it is provided in the system, that when vacancies happen in any state, the executive authority thereof *shall* issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

But, it seems, the number of the federal officers is not only too small: They are to hold their offices *too long*.

This objection surely applies not to *the house of representatives*, who are to be chosen *every two years*, especially if the extent of empire, and the vast variety and importance of their deliberations, be considered. In that view, *they and the senate* will actually be not only *legislative* but also *diplomatic* bodies, perpetually engaged in the arduous task of reconciling, in their determinations, the interests of several *sovereign states*, not to insist on the necessity of a competent knowledge of *foreign affairs*, relative to the states.

They who desire the *representatives* to be chosen *every year*, should exceed *Newton* in calculations, if they attempt to evince, that the public business would, in that case, be better transacted, than when they are chosen *every two years*. The idea, however, should be excused for the zeal that prompted it.

Is monarchy or aristocracy to be produced, without the consent of the people, by a *house of representatives*, thus constituted?

It has been unanimously agreed by the friends of liberty, that **FREQUENT ELECTIONS OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE, ARE THE SOVEREIGN REMEDY OF ALL GRIEVANCES IN A FREE GOVERNMENT.**— Let us pass on to the senate.

At the end of two years after the first election, *one third* is to be elected for *six years*; and at the end of *four years*, another *third*. Thus one *third* will constantly have but *four years*, and another but *two years* to continue in office. The whole number at first will amount to

twenty-six, will be regularly renovated by the biennial election of one third, and will be overlooked, and overawed by the house of representatives, nearly three times more numerous at the beginning, rapidly and vastly augmenting, and more enabled to overlook and overawe them, by holding their offices for two years, as thereby they will acquire better information, respecting national affairs. These representatives will also command the public purse, as all bills for raising revenue, must originate in their house.

As in the *Roman* armies, when the *Principes* and *Hastati* had failed, there were still the *Triarii*, who generally put things to rights, so we shall be supplied with another resource.

We are to have a *president*, to *superintend*, and if he thinks the public weal requires it, to *controul* any act of the *representatives* and *senate*.

This president is to be chosen, not by the people at large, because it may not be possible, that all the freemen of the empire should always have the necessary information, for directing their choice of such an officer; nor by Congress, lest it should disturb the national councils; nor BY ANY ONE STANDING BODY WHATEVER, for fear of undue influence.

He is to be chosen in the following manner. Each state shall appoint, as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of *electors*, equal to the whole number of *senators* and *representatives*, to which the state shall be entitled in Congress: but no *senator* or *representative*, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector. As these elec-

tors are to be appointed, as the legislature of each state may direct, the fairest, freest opening is given, for each state to chuse such *electors* for this purpose, as shall be most signally qualified to fulfil the trust.

To guard against undue influence these electors, thus chosen, are to meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot; and still further to guard against it, Congress may determine the time of chusing the electors, and the days on which they shall give their votes—WHICH DAY SHALL BE THE SAME THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES. All the votes from the several states are to be transmitted to Congress, and therein counted. The president is to hold his office for four years.

When these electors meet in their respective states, utterly vain will be the unreasonable suggestions derived from partiality. The electors may throw away their votes, mark, with public disappointment, some person improperly favoured by them, or justly revering the duties of their office, dedicate their votes to the best interests of their country.

This president will be no dictator. *Two thirds of the representatives and the senate may pass any law, notwithstanding his dissent;* and he is removable and punishable for misbehaviour.

Can this limited, fluctuating senate, placed amidst such powers, if it should become willing, ever become able, to make *America* pass under its yoke? The senators will generally be inhabitants of places very distant one from another. They can scarcely be acquainted till

they meet. Few of them can ever act together for any length of time, unless their good conduct recommends them to a re-election; and then there will be frequent changes in a body dependant upon the *acts of other bodies*, the legislatures of the several states, that are altering every year. *Machiavel* and *Cæsar Borgia* together could not form a conspiracy in such a senate, destructive to any but themselves and their accomplices.

It is essential to every good government, that there should be *some council*, permanent enough to get a due *knowledge* of affairs internal and external; so constituted, that by some deaths or removals, the current of *information* should not be impeded or disturbed; and so regulated, as to be responsible to, and controulable by *the people*. Where can the authority for combining these advantages, be more *safely, beneficially, or satisfactorily* lodged, than in the senate, to be formed according to the plan proposed? Shall parts of the trust be committed to the president, with *counsellors* who shall subscribe their advices?* If assaults upon liberty are to be guarded against, and surely they ought to be with sleepless vigilance, why should we depend more on *the commander in chief* of the army and navy of *The United States*, and of the militia of the several states, and on *his counsellors*, whom he may secretly influence, than on the *senate* to be appointed by the persons exercising the *sovereign authority* of the several states? In truth, th'

* See late publications.

objections against the powers of the senate originated from a desire to have them, or at least some of them, vested in a body, in which the several states should be represented, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as in the house of representatives. This method is UNATTAINABLE, and the wish for it should be dismissed from every mind, that desires the existence of a confederation.

What assurance can be given, or what probability be assigned, that a board of *counsellors* would continue honest, longer than the *senate*? Or, that they would possess more useful information, respecting all the states, than the *senators* of all the states? It appears needless to pursue this argument any further.

How varied, balanced, concordant, and benign, is the system proposed to us? To secure the freedom, and promote the happiness of these and future states, by giving THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE a decisive influence over the whole, and over all the parts, with what a comprehensive arrangement does it embrace different modes of representation, from an election by a county to an election by an empire? What are the complicated ballot, and all the refined devices of *Venice* for maintaining her aristocracy, when compared with this plain-dealing work for diffusing the blessings of *equal liberty and common prosperity* over myriads of the human race?

All the foundations before mentioned, of the federal government, are by the proposed system to be established, in the most clear, strong,

positive, unequivocal expressions, of which our language is capable. *Magna charta*, or any other law, never contained clauses more decisive and emphatic. While the people of these states have sense, they will understand them; and while they have spirit, they will make them to be observed.

FABIUS.

LETTER III.

THE writer of this address hopes, that he will now be thought so disengaged from the objections against the principle assumed, that he may be excused for recurring to his assertion, that—*the power of the people* pervading the proposed system, together with *the strong confederation of the states*, will form an adequate security against *every* danger that has been apprehended.

It is a mournful, but may be a useful truth, that the liberty of *single republics* has generally been destroyed by *some of the citizens*, and of *confederated republics*, by *some of the associated states*.

It is more pleasing, and may be more profitable to reflect, that, their tranquility and prosperity have commonly been promoted, in proportion to the strength of their government for protecting *the worthy* against *the licentious*.

As in forming a political society, *each* individual *contributes* some of his rights, in order that *he* may, from a **COMMON STOCK** of rights, derive *greater benefits*, than he could from merely *his own*; so, in forming a confederation, each political society should *contribute* such a share of their rights, as will, from a **COMMON STOCK** of *these* rights, produce the largest quantity of benefits for *them*.

But, *what is that share?* and, *how to be managed?* Momentous questions! Here, flattery is treason; and error, destruction.

Are they unanswerable? No. Our most gracious CREATOR does not condemn us to sigh for unattainable blessedness: But one thing he demands—that we should seek for happiness in his way, and not in our own.

Humility and benevolence must take place of pride and overweening selfishness. Reason, rising above these mists, will then discover to us, that we cannot be true to ourselves, without being true to others—that to love our neighbours as ourselves, is to love ourselves in the best manner—that to give, is to gain—and, that we never consult our own happiness more effectually, than when we most endeavour to correspond with THE DIVINE DESIGNS, by communicating happiness, as much as we can, to our fellow-creatures. INESTIMABLE TRUTH! sufficient, if they do not barely ask what it is, to melt tyrants into men, and to soothe the inflamed minds of a multitude into mildness—INESTIMABLE TRUTH! which our Maker in his providence, enables us, not only to talk and write about, but to adopt in practice of vast extent, and of instructive example.

Let us now enquire, if there be not some PRINCIPLE, *simple as the laws of nature* in other instances, from which, as from a SOURCE, the many benefits of society are deduced.

We may with reverence say, that our CREATOR designed *men* for society, because otherwise they cannot be happy. They cannot be happy without freedom; nor free without security; that is, without the *absence of fear*; nor thus secure, without society. The con-

clusion is strictly syllogistic—that men cannot be free without society. Of course, they cannot be *equally free* without society, WHICH FREEDOM PRODUCES THE GREATEST HAPPINESS.

As these premises are invincible, we have advanced a considerable way in our enquiry upon THIS DEEPLY INTERESTING SUBJECT. If we can determine, what share of his rights, every individual must contribute to THE COMMON STOCK of rights in forming a society, for obtaining *equal freedom*, we determine at the same time, what share of their rights each political society must contribute to THE COMMON STOCK of rights in forming a confederation, which is only a larger society, for obtaining *equal freedom*: For, if the deposite be not proportioned to the magnitude of the association in the latter case, it will generate the same mischief among the component parts of it, from their inequality, that would result from a defective contribution to association in the former case, among the component parts of it, from their inequality.

Each individual then must contribute such a share of his rights, as is necessary for attaining that SECURITY that is essential to freedom; and he is bound to make this contribution by the law of his nature, which prompts him to a participated happiness; that is, by the command of his creator; therefore, *he must submit his will, in what concerns all, to the will of all, that is of the whole society.* What does he lose by this submission? The power of doing

injuries to others—and the dread of suffering injuries from them. What does he gain by it? The aid of those associated with him, for his relief from the incommodities of mental or bodily weakness—the pleasure for which his heart is formed—of doing good—PROTECTION against injuries—a capacity of enjoying his undelegated rights to the best advantage—a repeal of his fears—and tranquility of mind—or, in other words, that *perfect liberty* better described in the Holy Scriptures, than anywhere else, in these expressions—“When *every man* shall *sit* under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and **NONE SHALL MAKE HIM AFRAID.**”

The like submission, with a correspondent expansion and accommodation, must be made between *states*, for obtaining the like benefits in a *confederation*. **MEN** are the materials of both. As the largest number is but a junction of **UNITS**—a confederation is but an assemblage of *individuals*. The auspicious influence of that *law* of his nature, upon which the happiness of **MAN** depends in society, must attend him in confederation, or he becomes unhappy; for confederation should promote the happiness of *individuals*, or it does not **ANSWER THE INTENDED PURPOSE**. Herein there is a progression, not a contradiction. As **MAN**, he becomes a *citizen*; as a *citizen*, he becomes a *federalist*. The generation of one, is not the destruction of the other. He *carries* into society his naked rights: *These* thereby improved, he *carries* still forward into confederation. If that sacred law before mentioned, is not here

observed, the confederation would not be *real*, but *pretended*. He would confide, and be deceived.*

* “ *The error of those who reason by precedent, drawn from antiquity, respecting the rights of man, is, that they do not go far enough into antiquity. They do not go the whole way. They stop in some of the intermediate stages of an hundred or a thousand years, and produce what was then done, as a rule for the present day. This is no authority at all. If we travel still further into antiquity, we shall find a direct contrary opinion and practice prevailing; and if antiquity is to be authority, a thousand such authorities may be produced, successively contradicting each other: but if we proceed on, at last we shall come out right: We shall then come to the time when man came from the hand of his Maker. What was he then? MAN. Man was his high and only title, and a higher cannot be given him*—*We are now got at the origin of man, and at the origin of his rights.*—*Every history of the creation, and every traditional account, whether from the lettered or unlettered world, however they may vary in their opinion or belief of certain particulars, all agree in establishing one point, the UNITY of man; by which I mean that man is all of one degree, and consequently that all men are born equal, and with equal natural rights. By considering man in this light, it places him in a close connection with all his duties, whether to his CREATOR, or to the creation, of which he is a part; and it is only where he forgets his ORIGIN, or, to use a more fashion-*

The dilemma is inevitable. There must either be *one* will, or *several* wills. If but *one* will, *all* the people are concerned; if *several* wills, *few* comparatively are concerned. Surprizing! that this doctrine should be contended for by those, who declare, that the constitution is not founded on a *bottom broad enough*; and, though THE WHOLE PEOPLE of The United States are to be TREBLY represented in it in THREE DIFFERENT MODES of representation, and their servants will have the most advantageous situations and opportunities of acquiring all requisite information for the welfare of the

able phrase, his birth and family, that he becomes dissolute.

Hitherto we have spoken only (and that but in part) of the natural rights of man. We have now to consider the civil rights of man, and to shew how the one ORIGINATES out of the other.— Man did not enter into society, to become worse than he was before, nor to have less rights than he had before, but to have those rights BETTER SECURED. His natural rights are the foundation of all his civil rights. But in order to pursue this distinction with more precision, it will be necessary to mark the different qualities of natural and civil rights.

A few words will explain this. Natural rights are those which appertain to man in right of his existence—civil rights are those which appertain to man in right of his being a member of society. Every civil right has for its foundation some natural right pre-existing in the individual, but

whole union, yet insist for a privilege of *opposing*, *obstructing*, and *confounding* all their measures taken with common consent for the general *weal*, by the delays, negligences, rivalries, or other selfish views of *parts* of the union.

Thus, while one state should be relied upon by the union for giving aid, upon a recommendation of Congress, to another in distress, the latter might be ruined; and the state relied upon, might suppose, it would gain by such an event.

When any persons speak of a consideration, do they, or do they not acknowledge, that the *whole* is interested in the safety of *every* part—in the *agreement* of *parts*—in the *relation* of *parts*

to unite his individual power is not, in all cases, sufficiently competent. Of this kind are all those which relate to SECURITY and PROTECTION.

From this short review it will be easy to distinguish between that class of natural rights which man retains after entering into society, and those which he throws into COMMON STOCK as a member of society. The natural rights which he retains, are all those in which the power to execute is as perfect in the individual as the right itself.—The natural rights which are not retained, are all those in which, though the right is perfect in the individual, the power to execute them is defective: THEY ANSWER NOT HIS PURPOSE—those he DEPOSITS in the COMMON STOCK of society, and takes the arm of society, of which he is a part, in preference and in addition to his own. Society grants him nothing. Every man is a proprietor in society, and draws on the capital as a matter of right.”

Rights of Man, 1791. page 30, 31.

to one another—to the *whole*—or, to other societies? If they do—then, the authority of the *whole*, must be co-extensive with its *interests*—and if it is, the *will* of the *whole* must and ought in *such cases* to govern; or else the *whole* would have interests without an authority to manage them—a position which prejudice itself cannot digest.

If they do not acknowledge, that *the whole is thus interested*, the conversation should cease. Such persons mean not a confederation, but something else.

As to the idea, that *this superintending sovereign will* must of consequence destroy the subordinate sovereignties of the several states, it is begging a concession of the question, by inferring, that a manifest and great *usefulness* must necessarily end in *abuse*; and not only so, but it requires an extinction of the *principle of all society*: for, the subordinate sovereignties, or, in other words, the *undelegated rights* of the several states, in a *confederation*, stand upon the very same foundation with the *undelegated rights* of *individuals in a society*, the *federal sovereign will* being composed of the *subordinate sovereign wills* of the several confederated states. As some persons seem to think, *a bill of rights* is *the best security of rights*, the *sovereignties* of the several states have *this best security* by the proposed constitution, and *more than this best security*, for they are not barely *declared* to be rights, but are taken into it as *component parts* for *their perpetual preservation*—by *themselves*. In short, the government of each state is, and is to be,

sovereign and supreme in all matters that relate to each state only. It is to be subordinate barely in those matters that relate to the whole; and it will be their own FAULTS, if the several states suffer the *federal sovereignty* to interfere in things of their respective jurisdictions. An instance of such interference with regard to *any single state*, will be a dangerous precedent as to all, and therefore will be guarded against by all, as the trustees or servants of the several states will not dare, if they retain their senses, so to violate the *independent sovereignty* of their respective states, THAT JUSTLY DARLING OBJECT of American affections, to which they are responsible, besides being endeared by all the charities of life.

The common sense of mankind agrees to the devolutions of individual wills *in society*; and if it has not been as universally assented to *in confederation*, the reasons are evident, and worthy of being retained in remembrance by *Americans*. They were want of opportunities, or the loss of them, through defects of knowledge and virtue. The principle however has been sufficiently vindicated in imperfect combinations, as their prosperity has generally been commensurate to its operation.

How beautifully and forcibly does the inspired Apostle *Paul*, argue upon a sublimer subject, with a train of reasoning strictly applicable to the present? His words are—"If the foot shall say, because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? and if the ear shall say, because I am

not the eye, I am not of the body ; is it therefore not of the body ? ” As plainly inferring, as could be done in that allegorical manner, the strongest censure of such partial discontents and dissentions, especially, as his meaning is enforced by his description of the *benefits of union* in these expressions—“ But, now they are many members, yet but *one body* : and the eye CANNOT say to the hand, *I have no need of thee* ; nor again, the head to the feet, *I have no need of you.* ”

When the commons of *Rome* upon a rupture with the Senate, seceded in arms at the *Mons Sacer*, *Menenius Agrippa* used the like allusion to the human body, in his famous apostrophe of a quarrel among some of the members. The unpolished but honest-hearted *Romans* of that day, understood him, and were appeased.

Another comparison has been made by the learned, between a natural and a political *body* ; and no wonder indeed, when the title of the latter was borrowed from the resemblance. It has therefore been justly observed, that if a mortification takes place in *one or some* of the limbs, and *the rest* of the body is sound, remedies may be applied, and not only the contagion prevented from spreading, but the diseased part or parts *saved by the connection* with the body, and restored to former usefulness.—When general putrefaction prevails, death is to be expected. History sacred and profane tells us, that, CORRUPTION OF MANNERS SINKS NATIONS INTO SLAVERY.

FABIUS.

E

LETTER IV.

ANOTHER question remains. *How are the contributed rights to be managed?* The resolution has been in great measure anticipated, by what has been said concerning the system proposed. Some few reflections may perhaps finish it.

If it be considered separately, a CONSTITUTION is the ORGANIZATION of the contributed rights in society. GOVERNMENT is the EXERCISE of them. It is intended for the benefit of the governed; of course can have no just powers but what conduce to that end: and the awfulness of the *trust* is demonstrated in this—that it is founded on the nature of man, that is, on the will of his MAKER, and is therefore sacred. It is then an offence against heaven, to violate that *trust*.*

* “We have now traced Man from a natural individual to a member of society——Civil power, properly considered as such is made up of the AGGREGATE of that class of the natural rights, which become defective in the individual in point of power, and ANSWERS NOT HIS PURPOSE; but when collected into a focus, becomes competent to the purpose of every one.——Let us now apply those principles to government.——

Individuals themselves, each in his own personal and sovereign right, entered into a compact with each other, to produce a government; and this is the only mode in which governments have a

If the organization of a constitution be defective, it may be amended.

A good constitution promotes, but not always produces a good administration.

The government must never be lodged in a single body. From such an one, *with an unlucky composition* of its parts, rash, partial, illegal, and when intoxicated with success, even cruel, insolent and contemptible edicts, may at times be expected. By these, if other mischiefs do not follow, *the national dignity may be impaired.*

right to arise, and the only principle on which they have a right to exist.

A CONSTITUTION is not a thing in name only, but in fact—It has not an ideal but a real existence, and wherever it cannot be produced in a visible form, there is none. A CONSTITUTION is a thing antecedent to a GOVERNMENT ; and a government is only the creature of a constitution.—A constitution of a country is not the act of its government, but of the people constituting a government. It is the body of elements to which you can refer, and quote article by article ; and which contains the principles on which the government shall be established, the manner in which it shall be organized, the powers it shall have, the mode of election, the duration of parliaments, or by what other name such bodies may be called, the powers which the executive part of the government shall have ; and, in fine, every thing that relates to the complete ORGANIZATION of a civil government, and the principles on which it shall act, and by which it shall be bound. Rights of Man, p. 35, 36.

Several inconveniences might attend a division of the government into two bodies, that probably would be avoided in another arrangement.

The judgment of the most enlightened among mankind, confirmed by multiplied experiments, points out the propriety of government being committed to such a number of great departments, as can be introduced without confusion, distinct in office, and yet connected in operation. It seems to be agreed, that three or four of these departments are a competent number.

“What is a constitution? it is the form of government, delineated by the mighty hand of the people, in which certain first principles or fundamental laws are established. The constitution is certain and fixed; it contains the permanent will of the people, and is the supreme law of the land; it is paramount to the power of the legislature, and can be revoked or altered only by the authority that made it.—What are legislatures? creatures of the constitution, they owe their existence to the constitution—they derive their powers from the constitution—It is their commission, and therefore all their acts must be conformable to it, or else void. The CONSTITUTION is the work or will of the PEOPLE THEMSELVES, in their original, sovereign, and unlimited capacity. Law is the work or will of the legislature in their derivative capacity.”

Judge Patterson's charge to the jury in the Wyoming case of Vanhorne's lessee against Dorrance; tried at the circuit-court for the United States, held at Philadelphia, April term, 1795.

Such a repartition appears well calculated to express the sense of *the people*, and to encrease the safety and repose of *the governed*, which, with the advancement of their happiness in other respects, are the objects of government; as thereby there will be more obstructions interposed; against errors, feuds, and frauds, in the administration, and the *extraordinary interference of the people need be less frequent*. Thus, wars, tumults, and uneasinesses, are avoided. The departments so constituted, may therefore be said to be *balanced*.

But, notwithstanding, it must be granted, that a bad administration may take place.—What is then to be done? The answer is instantly found—Let the *Fasces* be lowered before—the *supreme sovereignty* of the people. IT IS THEIR DUTY TO WATCH, AND THEIR RIGHT TO TAKE CARE, THAT THE CONSTITUTION BE PRESERVED; or in the *Roman* phrase on perilous occasions—TO PROVIDE, THAT THE REPUBLIC RECEIVE NO DAMAGE.

Political bodies are *properly* said to be *balanced*, with respect to this PRIMARY ORINATION and ULTIMATE DESTINATION, not to any intrinsic or constitutional properties.* It

* Constitutional properties are only, as has been observed at the beginning of this letter, parts in the organization of the contributed rights. As long as those parts preserve the orders assigned to them respectively by the constitution, they may so far be said to be balanced: but, when one part, without being sufficiently checked by the rest, abuseth its power to

is the POWER from which they PROCEED, and which they SERVE, that TRULY AND OF RIGHT BALANCES them. †

But, as a good constitution not always produces a good administration, a defective one not always excludes it. Thus, in governments very different from those of *United America*, general manners and customs, improvement in knowledge, and the education and disposition of princes, not unfrequently soften the features,

the manifest danger of public happiness, or when the several parts abuse their respective powers so as to involve the commonwealth in the like peril, THE PEOPLE must restore things to that order, from which their functionaries have departed. If THE PEOPLE suffer this living principle of watchfulness and controul to be extinguished among them, they will assuredly not long afterwards experience that of their “temple,” “there shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.”

† When the CONTROULING POWER is in a constitution, it has the NATION for its support, and the NATURAL and the political controuling powers are together. The laws which are enacted by governments, controul men only as individuals, but the NATION, thro' its constitution controuls THE WHOLE GOVERNMENT, and has a NATURAL ABILITY to do so. The FINAL CONTROULING power, therefore, and the ORIGINAL CONSTITUTING power, ARE ONE AND THE SAME POWER.

Rights of Man, 1792. part 2d, b. 4, p. 42.

and qualify the defects. Jewels of value are substituted, in the place of the rare and genuine orient of highest price and brightest lustre: and though the sovereigns *cannot* even in their ministers, be brought to account by the governed, yet there are instances of their conduct indicating a veneration for the rights of the people, and an internal conviction of the guilt that attends their violation. Some of them appear to be *fathers of their countries*. Revered princes! *Friends of mankind!* May peace be in their lives—and in their deaths—Hope.

By this superior will of the people, is meant a reasonable, not a distracted will. When frenzy seizes the mass, it would be equal madness to think of their happiness, that is, of their freedom. They will infallibly have a *Philip* or a *Cæsar*, to bleed them into soberness of mind. At present we are cool; and let us attend to our business.

Our government under the proposed confederation, will be guarded by a repetition of the strongest cautions against excesses. In the *senate* the *sovereignies* of the several states will be *equally represented*; in the *house of representatives*, the *people* of the whole union will be *equally represented*; and, in the *president*, and the *federal independent judges*, so much concerned in the execution of the laws, and in the determination of their constitutionality, the *sovereignies* of the several states and the *people* of the whole union, may be considered as *jointly represented*.

Where was there ever and where is there now upon the face of the earth, a government so diversified and attempered? If a work formed with so much deliberation, so respectful and affectionate an attention to the interests, feelings, and sentiments of all *United America*, will not satisfy, what would satisfy all *United America*?

It seems highly probable, that those who would reject this labour of public love, would also have rejected the Heaven-taught institution of **TRIAL BY JURY**, had they been consulted upon its establishment. Would they not have cried out, that there never was framed so detestable, so paltry, and so tyrannical a device for extinguishing freedom, and throwing unbounded domination into the hands of the king and barons, under a contemptible pretence of preserving it? “What! Can freedom be preserved by *imprisoning* its *guardians*? Can freedom be preserved, by keeping twelve men *closely confined* without meat, drink, fire, or candle, until they *unanimously agree*, and this to be innumerable repeated? Can freedom be preserved, by thus delivering up a number of freemen to a monarch and an *aristocracy*, fortified by *dependant* and *obedient* judges and officers, to be shut up, until under *duress* they *speak as they are ordered*? Why cannot the twelve jurors *separate*,* after hearing the evidence, return to their *respective homes*, and there *take time*,* and *think of the matter at their ease*?* Is there not a variety of

* See late publications against the Federal Constitution.

ways, in which causes have been, and can be tried, without this TREMENDOUS, UNPRECEDENTED INQUISITION? Why then is it insisted on; but because the fabricators of it *know* that it *will*, and *intend* that it *shall* reduce the people to slavery? Away with it—Freemen will never be enthralled by so insolent, so execrable, so pitiful a contrivance.”

Happily for us our ancestors thought otherwise. They were not so over-nice and curious, as to refuse blessings, because, they might possibly be abused.

They perceived, that the *uses* included were great and manifest. Perhaps they did not foresee, that from this acorn, as it were, of their planting, would be produced a perpetual vegetation of political energies, that “would secure the just liberties of the nation for a long succession of ages,* and elevate it to the distinguished rank it has for several centuries held. As to *abuses*, they trusted to their own spirit for preventing or correcting them: And worthy is it of deep consideration by every friend of freedom, that *abuses* that seem to be but “*trifles*,” † may be attended by fatal consequences. What can be “*trifling*,” that diminishes or detracts from the only defence, that ever was found against “*open attacks and secret machinations?* ‡ This establishment originates from a knowledge of human nature. With a superior force, wisdom, and benevolence uni-

* *Blackstone*, III. 379. † *Idem*, IV. 350.

‡ *Idem*, III. 381.

ted, it rives the difficulties concerning administration of justice, that have distressed, or destroyed the rest of mankind. It reconciles contradictions—*vastness of power*, with *safety of private station*. It is ever new, and *always the same*.

Trial by jury and the dependance of taxation upon representation, those corner stones of liberty, were not obtained by *a bill of rights*, or any other records, and have not been and cannot be preserved by them. They and all other rights must be preserved, by **SOUNDNESS OF SENSE and HONESTY OF HEART**. Compared with *these*, what are a bill of rights, or any characters drawn upon *paper or parchment*, those frail remembrancers? Do we want to be reminded, that the sun enlightens, warms, invigorates, and cheers? or how horrid it would be, to have his blessed beams intercepted, by our being thrust into mines or dungeons? Liberty is the sun of society. Rights are the beams.*

* Instead of referring to musty records and mouldy parchments to prove that the rights of the living are lost, “ renounced, and abdicated for ever,” by those who are now no more.—M. de la Fayette, in his address to the national assembly, applies to the living world, and says—“ Call to mind the sentiments which nature has engraved in the heart of every citizen, and which take a new face when they are solemnly recognized by all. For a nation to love liberty, it is sufficient that she knows it; and to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it.”

"It is the duty which every man owes to his country, his friends, his posterity, and himself, to maintain to the utmost of his power this valuable palladium in all its rights ; to restore it to its ancient dignity, if at all impaired by the different value of property, or otherwise deviated from its first institution ; to *amend* it, wherever it is *defective* ;* and above all to guard with the most jealous circumspection against the new and arbitrary methods of trial, which, under a variety of plausible pretences, may in time imperceptibly undermine this best preservative of liberty."† Trial by Jury is our *birth-right* ; and tempted to his own ruin, by some seducing spirit, must be the man, who in opposition to the genius of *United America*, shall dare to attempt its subversion.

In the proposed confederation, it is preserved inviolable in criminal cases, and cannot be altered in other respects, but when *United America* demands it.

There seems to be a disposition in men to find fault, no difficult matter, rather than to act as they ought. The works of creation itself have been objected to : and one learned prince declared, that if he had been consulted, they would have been improved. With what book has so much fault been found, as with the *Bible*? Perhaps, principally, because it *so clearly and strongly enjoins men to do right*. How many, how plausible objections have been

* See an enumeration of defects in trials by jury, *Blackstone*, III. 381. † *Idem*, IV. 350.

made against it, with how much ardor, with how much pains? Yet, the book has done more good than all the books in the world; would do much more, if duly regarded; and might lead the objectors against it to happiness, if they would value it as they should.

When *objections* are made to a system of high import, should they not be weighed against the *benefits*? Are *these* great, positive, immediate? Is there a chance of endangering them by rejection or delay? **MAY THEY NOT BE ATTAINED WITHOUT ADMITTING THE OBJECTIONS AT PRESENT**, supposing the objections to be well founded? If the objections are well founded, may they not be hereafter admitted, without danger, disgust, or inconvenience? Is the system so formed, that they may be thus admitted? May they not be of less efficacy, than they are thought to be by their authors? are they not designed to hinder evils, which are generally deemed to be sufficiently provided against? May not the admission of them prevent benefits, that might otherwise be obtained? In political affairs, is it not more safe and advantageous, for *all* to agree in measures that may not be best, than to quarrel *among themselves*, what are best?

When questions of this kind with regard to the plan proposed, are *calmly considered*, it seems reasonable to hope, that every faithful citizen of *United America*, will make up his mind, with much satisfaction to himself, and advantage to his country.

F A B I U S.

LETTER V.

IT has been considered, *what are the rights to be contributed*; and *how they are to be managed*; and it has been said, that republican tranquility and prosperity have commonly been promoted, in proportion to the strength of government for protecting *the worthy* against *the licentious*.

The protection herein mentioned, refers to cases *between* citizens and citizens, or states and states: But there is also a protection to be afforded to *all* the citizens, or states, against foreigners. It has been asserted, that *this* protection never can be afforded, but under an appropriation, collection, and application, of the general force, by the will of the whole combination. This protection is in a degree dependent on the former, as it may be weakened by internal discords and especially where the worst party prevails. Hence it is evident, that such establishments as tend most to protect *the worthy* against *the licentious*, tend most to protect *all* against foreigners. This position is found to be verified by indisputable facts, from which it appears, that when nations have been, as it were, condemned for their *crimes*, unless they first became *suicides*, foreigners have acted as *executors*.

This is not all. As government is intended for the happiness of the people, the protection of the worthy against those of contrary characters, is calculated to promote the end of legitimate government, that is, *the general welfare*;

for THE GOVERNMENT WILL PARTAKE OF THE QUALITIES OF THOSE WHOSE AUTHORITY IS PREVALENT. If it be asked, who are the *worthy*, we may be informed by a heathen poet—

“ *Vir bonus est quis?* ”

“ *Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat.* ”*

The best foundations of this protection, that can be laid by men, are a constitution and government secured, as well as can be, from the undue influence of *passions* either in *the people* or *their servants*. Then in a contest between citizens and citizens, or states and states, the standard of *laws* may be displayed, explained and strengthened by the well-remembered sentiments and examples of our fore-fathers, which will give it a sanctity far superior to that of their eagles so venerated by the former masters of the world. This circumstance will carry powerful aids to the true friends of their country, and unless counteracted by the follies of *Pharsalia*, or the accidents of *Philippi*, may secure the blessings of freedom to succeeding ages.

It has been contended, that the plan proposed to us, adequately secures us against the influence of *passions* in the federal servants. Whether it as adequately secures us against the influence of *passions* in the people, or in particular states, time will determine, and MAY THE DETERMINATION BE PROPITIOUS.

* *He who reveres the constitution, liberties and laws of his country.* —

Let us now consider the tragical play of the passions in similar cases ; or, in other words, the consequences of their irregularities. Duly governed, they produce happiness.

Here the reader, is respectfully requested, to assist the intentions of the writer, by keeping in mind, the ideas of a single republic with *one* democratic branch in its government, and of a confederation of republics with *one* or *several* democratic branches in the government of the confederation, or in the government of its parts, so that as he proceeds, a comparison may easily run along, between any of these and the proposed plan.

History is entertaining and instructive ; but, if admired chiefly for amusement, it may yield little profit. If read for improvement, it is apprehended, a slight attention only will be paid to the vast variety of particular incidents, unless they be such as may meliorate the heart. A knowledge of the distinguishing features of nations, the principles of their governments, the advantages and disadvantages of their situations, the methods employed to avail themselves of the first, and to alleviate the last, their manners, customs, and institutions, the sources of events, their progresses, and determining causes, may be eminently useful, tho' obscurity may rest upon a multitude of attending circumstances. Thus, one nation may become prudent and happy, not only by the wisdom and success, but even by the errors and misfortunes of another.

In *Carthage* and *Rome*, there was a very numerous *senate*, strengthened by prodigious attachments, and in a great degree independent of the people. In *Athens*, there was a *senate* strongly supported by the powerful court of *Areopagus*. In each of these republics, their affairs at length became convulsed, and their liberty was subverted. What cause produced these effects? Encroachments of the *senate* upon the authority of the people? No! but directly the reverse, according to the unanimous voice of historians; that is, encroachments of the *people* upon the authority of the *senate*. The *people* of these republics absolutely *LABOURED* for their own destruction; and never thought themselves *so free*, as when they were promoting their own subjugation. Though, even after these encroachments had been made, and ruin was spreading around, yet, *the remnants of senatorial authority* delayed the final catastrophe.*

* *The great Bacon*, in enumerating the *art* by which *Cæsar* enslaved his country, says—“*His first artifice was to break the strength of the SENATE*, for while that remained safe, there was no opening for any person to immoderate or extraordinary power,——‘*Nam initio sibi erant frangendæ senatus opes et autoritas qua salva nemini ad, immodica et extra ordinaria imperia aditus erat.*’ *Bossuet*, *bishop of Meaux*, takes notice in his *universal history*, that the *infamous Herod*, to *engross authority*, attacked the *Sanhedrim*, which was in a manner the *senate*, where the *supreme jurisdiction* was *exercised.*”

In more modern times, the *Florentines* exhibited a memorable example. They were divided into violent parties; and the prevailing one vested exorbitant powers in the house of *Medici*, then possessed, as it was judged, of more money, than any crowned head in *Europe*. Though that house engaged and persevered in the attempt; yet the people were never despoiled of their liberty, until they were overwhelmed by the armies of foreign princes, to whose enterprizes their situation exposed them.

Republics of later date and various form have appeared. Their institutions consist of old errors tissued with hasty inventions, somewhat excusable, as the wills of the *Romans*, made with arms in their hands. *Some* of them were *condensed**, by dangers. They are still compressed by them into a sort of union. Their well-known transactions witness, that *their connection is not enough compact and arranged*. They have all suffered, or *are suffering* through *that defect*. Their existence seems to depend more upon others, than upon themselves. There might be an impropriety in saying more, considering the peculiarity of their circumstances *at this time*.

* “ *If we consider what the principles are that first condense man into society, and what the motive is that regulates their mutual intercourse afterwards, we shall find, by the time we arrive at what is called government, that nearly the whole of the business is performed by the natural operation of the parts upon each other.*” Rights of Man.

The wretched mistake of the great men who were leaders in the long parliament of *England*, in attempting, by not filling up vacancies, to extend their power over a brave and sensible people, accustomed to POPULAR REPRESENTATION, and their downfall, when their victories and puissance by sea and land had thrown all *Europe* into astonishment and awe, shew, how difficult it is for rulers to usurp over a people who are not wanting to themselves.

Let the fortunes of *confederated republics* be now considered.

“*The Amphictionic council*,” or “general court of *Greece*,” claims the first regard. Its authority was very great: But, the parts were not sufficiently combined, to guard against the ambitious, avaricious, and selfish projects of some of them; or, if they had the power, they dared not to employ it, as the turbulent states were very sturdy, and made a sort of partial confederacies. *

* *When Xerxes invaded Greece with the largest host and the greatest fleet that ever were collected, events occurred, which being preserved in history, convey to us a very affecting and instructive information.*

While the danger was at some distance, the states of Greece looked to remote friends for assistance. Disappointed in these speculations, tho' the vast armaments of their enemies were constantly rolling towards them, still there was no firmness in their union, no vigor in their resolutions.

“ *The Achæan league*” seems to be the next in dignity. It was at first, small, consisting of few states: afterwards, very extensive, consisting of many. In their diet or Congress, they enacted laws, disposed of vacant employments, declared war, made peace, entered into alliances, compelled every state of the union to

The Persian army passed the Hellespont, and directed its march westward. It was then decided, that *Theffaly* was the frontier to be first attacked.

The *Theffalians*, than whom no people had been more forward in the common cause hastened a remonstrance to *Corinth*, urging that unless they were immediately and powerfully supported, necessity would oblige them to make terms with the invaders.

This reasonable remonstrance roused the sluggish and hesitating councils of the confederacy. A body of foot was dispatched who soon occupied the valley of *Tempe*, the only pass from Lower Macedonia into *Theffaly*.

In a few days, these troops being informed that there was another pass from Upper Macedonia, returned to the *Corinthian isthmus*.

The *Theffalians* thus deserted made their submission.

“ *This retreat from Tempe appears to have been a precipitate measure, rendered necessary by nothing so much as by THE WANT OF SOME POWERS of government extending over the several states which composed the confederacy.*”

Mitford’s *History of Greece*.

With diminished forces, the defence of the confederates was now to be contracted. But in the con-

obey its ordinances, and managed other affairs. Not only their laws, but their magistrates, council, judges, money, weights and measures, were the same. So uniform were they, that all seemed to be but one state. Their chief officer called *Strategos*, was chosen in the Congress by a majority of votes. He presided in

duct even of this business daily becoming more urgent, we find them labouring under the defects of their confederation.

Destitute of any sufficient power extending over the whole, no part could confide in the protection of the whole, while the naval superiority of their enemy put it in his choice, where, when, and how to make his attacks; and therefore each republic seems to have been anxious to reserve its own strength for future contingencies.

Their generous hearts all beat at the call of freedom; but their efforts were embarrassed and enfeebled by the vices of their political constitution, to their prodigious detriment, and almost to their total destruction. For these vices, the ardor of heroism united with love of country could not compensate. These very vices therefore, may truly be said to have wasted the blood of patriots, and to have betrayed their country into the severest calamities.

If we shall hereafter by experience discover any vices in our constitution, let us HASTEN with prudence and a fraternal affection for each other, to correct them. We are all embarked in the same vessel, and equally concerned in repairing any defects.

the Congress, commanded the forces, and was vested with great powers, especially in time of war: but was liable to be called to an account by the Congress, and punished, if convicted of misbehaviour.

These states had been oppressed by the kings of *Macedon*, and insulted by tyrants. “From their incorporation,” says *Polybius*, “may be dated the birth of that greatness, that by a constant augmentation, at length arrived to a marvellous height of prosperity. The same of their wise laws and mild government reached the Greek colonies in *Italy*, where the *Crotoniates*, the *Sybarites*, and the *Cauloniates*, agreed to adopt them, and to govern their states conformably.”

Did the delegates to the *Amphictionic council*, or to the *Congress of the Achæan league*, destroy the liberty of their country, by establishing a monarchy or an aristocracy among themselves? Quite the contrary. WHILE THE SEVERAL STATES CONTINUED FAITHFUL TO THE UNION, THEY PROSPERED. Their affairs were shattered by dissensions, emulations, and civil wars, artfully and diligently fomented by princes who thought it their interest; and in the case of the *Achæan league*, partly, by the folly and wickedness of Greeks not of the league, particularly the *Ætolians*, who repined at the glories, that constantly attended the banner of freedom, supported by virtue, and conducted by prudence. *Thus weakened*, they all sunk together, the envied and the envying, under the domination, first of *Macedon*, and then of *Rome*.

Let any man of common sense peruse the gloomy but instructive pages of their mournful story, and he will be convinced, that if any nation could successfully have resisted those conquerors of the world, the illustrious deed had been atchieved by *Greece*, that cradle of republics; if the several states had been cemented by some such league as the *Achæan*, and had *honestly fulfilled its obligations*.

It is not pretended, that the *Achæan league* was perfect, or that there were not monarchical and aristocatical factions among the people of it. Every concession of that sort, that can be asked, shall be made. It had many defects; every one of which, however, has been avoided in the plan proposed to us.

With all its defects, with all its disorders, yet such was the life and vigor communicated through the whole, by the *popular representation* of each part, and by the *close combination* of all, that the true spirit of republicanism PREDOMINATED, and thereby advanced the happiness and glory of the people to so pre-eminent a state, that our ideas upon the pleasing theme cannot be too elevated. Here is the proof of this assertion. When the *Romans* had laid *Carthage* in ashes; had reduced the kingdom of *Macedon* to a province; had conquered *Antiochus* the great, and got the better of all their enemies in the *East*; these *Romans*, masters of so much of the then known world, determined to humble the *Achæan league*, because as history expressly informs us, “*their great power began to raise no small jealousy at Rome.*” Polybius.

What a vast weight of argument do these facts and circumstances add to the maintenance of the principle contended for by the writer of this address?

F A B I U S.

LETTER VI.

SOME of our fellow-citizens have ventured to predict the future fate of *United America*, if the system proposed to us, shall be adopted.

Though, every branch of the constitution and government is to be popular, and guarded by the strongest provisions, that until this day have occurred to mankind, yet the system will end, they say, in the oppressions of *a monarchy or aristocracy* by the federal servants or some of them.

Such a conclusion seems not in any manner suited to the premises. It startles, yet, not so much from its novelty, as from the respectability of the characters by which it is drawn.

We must not be too much influenced by our esteem for those characters: But, should recollect, that when the fancy is warmed, and the judgment inclined, by the proximity or pressure of particular objects, very extraordinary declarations are not unfrequently made. Such are the frailties of our nature, that genius and integrity sometimes afford no protection against them.

Probably, there never was, and never will be, such an instance of dreadful denunciation, concerning the fate of a country, as was published while the union was in agitation between *England* and *Scotland*. The *English* were for a joint legislature, many of the *Scots* for separate legislatures, and urged, that they should be in

a manner swallowed up and lost in the other, as then *they* would not possess *one eleventh* part in it.

Upon that occasion lord *Elhaven*, one of the most distinguished orators of the age, made in the *Scottish* parliament a famous speech, of which the following extract is part :

“ My lord Chancellor,

“ When I consider this affair of an *union* between the two nations, as it is expressed in the several articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation at this time, I find my mind crowded with a variety of *very melancholy thoughts*, and I think it my duty to disburthen myself of some of them, by laying them before and exposing them to the serious consideration of this honourable house.

“ I think, I SEE A FREE AND INDEPENDENT KINGDOM delivering up *that*, which all the world hath been fighting for since the days of *Nimrod*; yea, *that*, for which most of all the empires, kingdoms, states, principalities and dukedoms of *Europe*, are at this very time engaged in the most bloody and cruel wars that ever were; *to wit*, A POWER TO MANAGE THEIR OWN AFFAIRS BY THEMSELVES, WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE AND COUNCIL OF ANY OTHER.

“ I think, I see A NATIONAL CHURCH, founded upon a rock, secured by *a claim of right*, hedged and fenced about by the strictest and pointedest legal sanctions that sovereignty could contrive, voluntarily descending into a plain, upon an equal level with *Jews*, *Papists*, *Soci-*

nians, Arminians, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries, &c.

“ I think, I see THE NOBLE AND HONORABLE PEERAGE OF SCOTLAND, whose valiant predecessors led armies against their enemies upon their own proper charges and expences, now divested of their followers and vassalages, and put upon such an equal foot with their vassals, that I think, I see a petty *English* EXCISEMAN receive more homage and respect, than what was paid formerly to their *quondam Mackallamors*.

“ I think, I see THE PRESENT PEERS OF SCOTLAND, whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, over-run countries, reduced and subjected towns and fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of *England*, now walking in THE COURT OF REQUESTS, like so many *English* Attornies, laying aside their walking swords when in company with the *English* Peers, lest their self-defence should be found murder.

“ I think, I see THE HONORABLE ESTATE OF BARONS, the bold assertors of the nation’s rights and liberties in the worst of times, now setting A WATCH UPON THEIR LIPS and A GUARD UPON THEIR TONGUES, lest they be found guilty of SCANDALUM MAGNATUM.

“ I think, I see THE ROYAL STATE OF BORROUGHS, walking their DESOLATE STREETS, hanging down their heads UNDER DISAPPOINTMENTS; worm’d out of ALL THE BRANCHES OF THEIR OLD TRADE, uncertain WHAT HAND TO TURN TO, necessitated to become

apprentices to their unkind neighbours, and yet after all finding their TRADE SO FORTIFIED BY COMPANIES and secured by prescriptions, that they despair of any success therein.

“ I think, I see OUR LEARNED JUDGES laying aside their *pratiques & decisions*, studying the common law of *England*, gravelled with *certioraries, nisi prius, writs of error, ejectiones firmæ, injunctions, demurrers, &c.* and frightened with APPEALS and AVOCATIONS, because of THE NEW REGULATIONS, and RECTIFICATIONS they meet with.

“ I think, I see THE VALIANT AND GALLANT SOLDIERY, either sent to learn the plantation trade abroad, or at home petitioning for A SMALL SUBSISTENCE, as the reward of their honourable exploits, while their old corps are broken, the common soldiers left to beg, and the youngest *English* corps kept standing.

“ I think, I see THE HONEST INDUSTRIOUS TRADESMAN loaded with NEW TAXES AND IMPOSITIONS, disappointed of the equivalents, drinking water in place of ale, eating his saltless pottage, petitioning for ENCOURAGEMENT TO HIS MANUFACTORIES, and answered by counter petitions.

“ In short, I think I see THE LABORIOUS PLOUGHMAN, with his corn spoiling upon his hands FOR WANT OF SALE, cursing the day of his birth; dreading the expence of his burial, and uncertain whether to marry, or do worse.

“ I think, I see the incurable difficulties of LANDING MEN, fettered under the golden chain of equivalents, their pretty daughters petition-

ing for want of husbands, and their sons for want of employments.

“ I think, I see OUR MARINERS DELIVERING UP THEIR SHIPS to their *Dutch* partners, and what through PRESSES AND NECESSITY earning their bread as *underlings* in the *English* navy. But above all, my lord, I think, I see OUR ANTIENT MOTHER CALEDONIA, like *Cæsar*, sitting in the midst of our senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garment, attending the fatal blows and breathing out her last with a——*Et tu quoque, mi fili.*

“ Are not these, my lord, *very afflicting thoughts*? And yet they are the least part suggested to me by *these dishonorable articles*. Should not the considerations of these things vivify these *dry bones* of ours? Should not the memory of our noble predecessors’ valor and constancy rouse up our drooping spirits? Are our noble predecessors, souls got so far into the *English cabbage-stalks and cauliflower*, that we should shew the least inclination that way? Are our eyes *so blinded*? Are our ears *so deafened*? Are our hearts *so hardened*? Are our tongues *so faultered*? Are our hands *so fettered*? that in *this our day*, I say, my lord, *that in this our day, we should not mind the things that concern the very being and well being of our ancient kingdom, before the day be bid from our eyes.*

“ When I consider this treaty as it hath been explained, and spoke to, before us these three weeks by past; I see the ENGLISH constitution remaining firm, the same two HOUSES of Par-

liament, the same TAXES, the same CUSTOMS, the same EXCISES, the same TRADING COMPANIES, the same municipal laws and courts of judicature; and ALL OURS EITHER SUBJECT TO REGULATIONS OR ANNIHILATIONS, only we are to have THE HONOR to pay THEIR OLD DEBTS, and to have *some few persons present for witnesses* to the validity of the deed, when they are pleased to contract more.”*

Let any candid *American* deliberately compare that transaction with the present, and laying his hand upon his heart, solemnly answer this question to himself—Whether, he does not verily believe the eloquent Peer before mentioned, had ten-fold more cause to apprehend evils from such an unequal match between the two kingdoms, than any citizen of these states has to apprehend them from the system proposed? Indeed not only that Peer, but other persons of distinction, and large numbers of the people of *Scotland* were filled with the utmost aversion to the union; and if the greatest diligence and prudence had not been employed by its friends in removing misapprehensions and refuting misrepresentations, and by the then subsisting government for preserving the public peace, there would certainly have been a rebellion.

Yet, WHAT WERE THE CONSEQUENCES to *Scotland* of that DREADED union with *England*? The cultivation of her virtues, and the correction of her errors—The emancipation of one

* See objections against the Federal constitution, very similar to those made in *Scotland*.

class of her citizens from the yoke of their superiors—A relief of other classes from the injuries and insults of the great—Improvements in agriculture, science, arts, trade, and manufactures—The profits of industry and ingenuity enjoyed under the protection of laws—peace and security at home, and encrease of respectability abroad. Her *Church* is still eminent—Her *laws* and *courts of judicature* are safe—Her *boroughs* grown into cities—Her *mariners* and *soldiery* possessing *a larger subsistence*, than she could have afforded them, and her *tradesmen*, *ploughmen*, *landed men*, and her people of every rank, in a more flourishing condition, not only than they ever were, but in a more flourishing condition, than the clearest understanding could, at the time, have thought it possible for them to attain in *so short a period*, or even in many ages. *England* participated in the blessings. The *stock* of their union, or *ingraftment*, as perhaps it may be called, being strong, and capable of drawing better nutriment and in greater abundance, than they could ever have done apart,

“ Ere long, to Heaven the soaring branches shoot,

“ And wonder at their height, and more than native fruit.”

FABIUS.

LETTER VII.

THUS happily mistaken was the ingenious, learned, and patriotic lord *Belhaven*, in his prediction concerning the fate of his country; and thus happily mistaken, it is hoped, some of our fellow-citizens will be, in their prediction concerning the fate of their country.

Had they taken larger scope, and assumed in their proposition the vicissitude of human affairs, and the passions that so often confound them, their prediction might have been a tolerably good guess. Amidst the mutabilities of terrestrial things, the liberty of *United America* may be destroyed. As to that point, it is our duty, humbly, constantly, fervently, to implore the protection of our most gracious maker, "who doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men," and incessantly to strive, as we are commanded, to recommend ourselves to that protection, by "doing his will," diligently exercising our reason in fulfilling the purposes for which that and our existence were given to us.

How the liberty of this country is to be destroyed, is another question. Here, the gentlemen assign a cause, in no manner proportioned, as it is apprehended, to the effect.

The uniform tenor of history is against them. That holds up the LICENTIOUSNESS of the people, and TURBULENT TEMPER of some of the states, as THE ONLY CAUSES to be dreaded, not the conspiracies of *federal officers*. There-

fore, it is highly probable, that, if our liberty is ever subverted, it will be by one of the two causes first mentioned. Our tragedy will then have the same acts, with those of the nations that have gone before us; and we shall add one more example to the number already too great, of people that would not take warning, not, "know the things which belong to their peace." But, we ought not to pass such a sentence against our country, and the interests of freedom: Though, no sentence whatever can be equal to the atrocity of our guilt, if through enormity of *obstinacy* or *baseness*, we betray the cause of our posterity and of mankind, by providence committed to our parental and fraternal care. There is reason to believe, that the calamities of nations are the punishments of their sins.

As to the first mentioned cause, it seems unnecessary to say any more upon it.

As to the second, we find, that the misbehaviour of the *constituent parts* acting separately, or in partial confederacies, debilitated the Greeks under *The Amphictionic Council*, and under *The Achæan League*. As to the former, it was not entirely an assembly of strictly democratical republics. Besides, it wanted a sufficiently *close connection* of its parts. After these observations, we may call our attention from it.

'Tis true, *The Achæan League* was disturbed by the misconduct of *some parts*, but, it is as true, that it surmounted these difficulties, and wonderfully prospered, until it was dissolved in the manner that has been described.

The glorious operations of its principles bear the clearest testimony to this distant age and people, that the wit of man never invented such an antidote against monarchical and aristocratical projects, as a *strong combination* of truly *democratical republics*. By strictly or truly democratical republics, the writer means republics, in which all the principal officers, except the judicial, are from time to time chosen by the people.

The reason is plain. As *liberty* and *equality*, or as well termed by *Polybius*, *BENIGNITY*, were the foundations of their institutions, and the *energy* of the government pervaded *all the parts* in things relating to the whole, it counteracted for the common welfare, the designs hatched by selfishness in separate councils.

If folly or wickedness prevailed in any *parts*, friendly offices and salutary measures restored tranquility. Thus the public good was maintained. In its very formation, tyrannies and aristocracies submitted, by consent or compulsion. *Thus*, the *Ceraunians*, *Trezenians*, *Epidaurians*, *Megalopolitans*, *Argives*, *Hermionians*, and *Phlyayzrians* were received into the league. A happy exchange! For history informs us, that so true were they to their *noble* and *benevolent* principles, that, in their diet, “*NO RESOLUTIONS WERE TAKEN, BUT WHAT WERE EQUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE WHOLE CONFEDERACY, AND THE INTEREST OF EACH PART SO CONSULTED, AS TO LEAVE NO ROOM FOR COMPLAINTS!*”

How degrading would be the thought to a citizen of *United America*, that the people of these states, with institutions beyond comparison preferable to those of *The Achæan league*, and so vast a superiority in other respects, should not have wisdom and virtue enough, to manage their affairs, with as much *prudence* and *affection of one for another* as these ancients did.

Would this be doing justice to our country? The composition of her temper is excellent, and seems to be acknowledged equal to that of any nation in the world. Her prudence will guard its warmth against *two faults*, to which it may be exposed—The one, an imitation of **FOREIGN FASHIONS**, which from small things may lead to great. May her citizens aspire at *a national dignity* in every part of conduct, private as well as public. This will be influenced by the former. May **SIMPLICITY** be the characteristic feature of their manners, which, inlaid with their other virtues and their forms of government, may then indeed be compared, in the Eastern stile, to “apples of gold in pictures of silver.” Thus will they long, and may they, while their rivers run, escape the contagion of *luxury*—that motley issue of innocence debauched by folly, and the lineal predecessor of tyranny, prolific of guilt and wretchedness. The other fault, of which, *as yet*, there are no symptoms among us, is the **THIRST OF EMPIRE**. This is a vice, that ever has been, and from the nature of things, ever must be, fatal to *republican*

forms of government. Our wants, are sources of happiness: our irregular desires, of misery. The abuse of prosperity, is rebellion against Heaven; and succeeds accordingly.

Do the propositions of gentlemen who object, offer to our view, any of THE GREAT POINTS upon which, the fate, fame, or freedom of nations has turned, excepting what some of them have said about trial by jury; and which has been frequently and fully answered? Is there one of them calculated to regulate, and if needful, to controul those tempers and measures of *constituent parts* of an union, that have been so baneful to the weal of every confederacy that has existed? Do not some of them *tend to enervate the authority* evidently designed thus to regulate and controul? Do not others of them discover a bias in their advocates to *particular connections*, that if indulged to them, would enable persons of less understanding and virtue, to repeat the disorders, that have so often violated public peace and honor? Taking them altogether, would they afford as strong a security to our liberty, as the *frequent election* of the federal officers by the people, and the *repartition of power* among those officers, according to the proposed system?

It may be answered, that, they would be an additional security. In reply, let the writer be permitted at present to refer to what has been said.

The principal argument of gentlemen who object, involves a direct proof of the point contended for by the writer of this address, and as

far as it may be supposed to be founded, a plain confirmation of Historic evidence.

They generally agree, that the great danger of a monarchy or aristocracy among us, will arise from the federal *senate*.

The members of this *senate*, are to be chosen by men exercising the sovereignty of their respective states. These men therefore, must be monarchical or aristocratically disposed, before they will chuse federal senators thus disposed; and what merits particular attention, is, that these men must have obtained an overbearing influence in their respective states, before they could with such disposition arrive at the exercise of the sovereignty in them: or else, the like disposition must be prevalent among the people of such states.

Taking the case either way, is not this a disorder in *parts* of the union, and ought it not to be rectified by *the rest*? Is it reasonable to expect, that the disease will seize *all* at the same time? If it is not, ought not *the sound* to possess a right and power, by which they may prevent the infection from spreading? And will not THE EXTENT of our territory, and the NUMBER of states within it, vastly increase the difficulty of any political disorder diffusing its contagion, and the probability of its being repressed?

From the annals of mankind, these conclusions are deducible—that confederated states may act prudently and honestly, and apart foolishly and knavishly; but, that it is a defiance

of all probability, to suppose, that states conjointly shall act with folly and wickedness, and yet separately with wisdom and virtue.

F A B I U S.

LETTER VIII.

THE proposed confederation offers to us a system of diversified representation in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, as essentially necessary to the good government of an extensive republican empire. Every argument to recommend it, receives new force, by contemplating events, that must take place. The number of states in *America* will increase. If not united to the present, the consequences are evident. If united, it must be by a plan that will communicate *equal liberty* and assure *just protection* to them. These ends can never be attained, but by *a close combination* of the several states.

It has been asserted, that a very extensive territory cannot be ruled by a government of republican form. What is meant by this proposition? Is it intended to abolish all ideas of connection, and to precipitate us into the miseries of division, either as single states, or partial confederacies? To stupify us into despondence, that destruction may certainly seize us? The fancy of poets never feigned so dire a *Metamorphosis*, as is now held up to us. The *Aegis* of their *Minerva* was only said to turn men into stones. This spell is to turn “a band of brethren,” into a monster, preying on itself; and preyed upon by all its enemies.

If hope is not to be abandoned, common sense teaches us to attempt the best means of preservation. This is all that men can do, and

this they ought to do. Will it be said, that any kind of disunion, or a connection tending to it, is preferable to a firm union? Or, *is there any charm in that despotism*, which is said, to be alone competent to the rule of such an empire? There is no *evidence of fact*, nor any *deduction of reason*, that justifies the assertion. It is true, that extensive territory has in general been arbitrarily governed; and it is as true, that a number of republics, in such territory, *loosely connected*, must inevitably rot into despotism.

It is said—Such territory has never been governed by a confederacy of republics. Granted. But, where was there ever a confederacy of republics, in such territory, united, *as these states are to be* by the proposed constitution? Where was there ever a confederacy, in which, the sovereignty of each state was *equally represented* in one legislative body, the people of each state *equally represented* in another, and the sovereignties and people of all the states *conjointly represented*, possessed such a qualified and temperating authority in making laws? Or, in which, the appointment to federal offices was vested in a chief magistrate *chosen* as our president is to be? Or, in which, the acts of the executive department were *regulated*, as they are to be with us? Or, in which, the federal judges were to hold their offices *independently* and *during good behaviour*? Or, in which, the authority over the militia and troops was *so distributed and controuled*, as it is to be with us? Or, in which, the people were *so drawn together* by religion, blood, language, manners and

customs, undisturbed by former feuds or prejudices? Or, in which, the affairs relating to the whole union, were to be managed by an assembly of several representative bodies, invested with different powers that became *efficient only in concert*, without their being embarrassed by attention to other business? Or, in which, a provision was made for the federal revenue, *without recurring to coercion against states*, the miserable expedient of every other confederacy that has existed, an expedient always attended with odium, and often with a delay productive of irreparable damage? Where was there ever a *confederacy*, that thus adhered to the *first principle in civil society*; obliging by its *direct authority* every individual, to contribute, when the public good necessarily required it, a just proportion of aid to the support of the commonwealth protecting him—*without disturbing him in the discharge of the duties owing by him to the state of which he is an inhabitant*; and at the same time, so amply, so anxiously provided, for bringing the interests, and even the wishes of *every sovereignty* and of *every person* of the union, under all their various modifications and impressions, into their full operation and efficacy in the national councils? The instance never existed. The conclusion ought not to be made. It is without premises. So far is the assertion from being true, that “*a very extensive territory cannot be ruled by a government of a republican form*,” that such a territory cannot be well-ruled by a government of any other form.

The assertion has probably been suggested by reflections on the democracies of antiquity, without making a proper distinction between them and the democracy of *The United States.*

In the democracies of antiquity, the people assembled together and governed personally. This mode was incompatible with greatness of number and dispersion of habitation.

In the democracy of *The United States*, the people act by their *representatives*. This improvement collects the will of millions upon points concerning their welfare, with more advantage, than the will of hundreds could be collected under the ancient form.

There is another improvement equally deserving regard, and that is, the *varied representation* of sovereignties and people in the constitution now proposed.

It has been said, that this representation was a mere compromise.

It was not a mere compromise. THE EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF EACH STATE IN ONE BRANCH OF THE LEGISLATURE, was an original substantive proposition, made in convention, very soon after the draft offered by *Virginia*, to which last mentioned state *United America* is much indebted not only in other respects, but for her merit in the origination and prosecution of this momentous business.

The proposition was expressly made upon *this principle*, that a territory of such extent as that of *United America*, could not be *safely and advantageously governed*, but by a *combination of republics*, each *retaining* all the rights of supreme

sovereignty, excepting such as ought to be contributed to the union ; that for the securer preservation of these sovereignties, they ought to be represented in a body *by themselves*, and with *equal suffrage* ; and that they would be annihilated, if both branches of the legislature were to be formed of representatives of the people, in proportion to the number of inhabitants in each state.*

The principle appears to be well founded in reason. Why cannot a very extensive territory be ruled by a government of republican form ? They answered, because its power must languish through distance of parts. Granted ; if it be not a “body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered and knit together.” If it be such a body, the objection is removed. Instead of *such a perfect body*, framed upon the principle that commands men to associate, and societies to confederate ; that, which by communicating and extending happiness, corresponds with the gracious intentions of our maker towards us his creatures ; what is proposed ? Truly, that the natural legs and arms of this body should be cut off, because they are too weak, and their places supplied by stronger limbs of wood and metal.

* Justice Blackstone argues in like manner, after admitting the “expediency” of titles of nobility. “It is also expedient that their owners should form an independent and separate branch of the legislature”—otherwise “their privileges would soon be borne down and overwhelmed.” Comment. 2. 157.

Monarchs, it is said, are enabled to rule extensive territories, because they send viceroys to govern certain districts ; and thus the reigning authority is transmitted over the whole empire. Be it so : But, what are the consequences ? Tyranny, while the viceroys continue in submission to their masters, and the distraction of civil war besides, when they revolt, to which they are frequently tempted by the very circumstances of their situation, as the history of such governments indisputably proves.

America is, and will be, divided into several sovereign states, each possessing every power proper for governing *within its own limits for its own purposes*, and also for acting as a member of the union.

They will be *civil* and *military* stations, conveniently planted throughout the empire, with lively and regular communications. A stroke, a touch upon any part, will be immediately felt by the whole. *Rome* famed for imperial arts, had a glimpse of this great truth ; and endeavoured, as well as her hard-hearted policy would permit, to realize it in her *COLONIES*. They were miniatures of the capital : But wanted the *vital principle of sovereignty*, and were too small. They were melted down into, or overwhelmed by the nations around them. Were they now existing, they might be called curious automations—something like to our *living originals*. *These*, will bear a remarkable resemblance to the mild features of *patriarchal government*, in which each son ruled *his own household*, and in *other matters* the whole family was directed by the common ancestor.

Will a people thus happily situated, ever desire to exchange their condition, for subjection to an absolute ruler; or can they ever look but with veneration, or act but with deference to that union, that alone can, under providence, preserve them from such subjection?

Can any government be devised, that will be more suited to citizens, who wish for *equal freedom* and *common prosperity*; better calculated for preventing corruption of manners; for advancing the improvements that endear or adorn life; or that can be more conformed to the *understanding*, to the *best affections*, to the very *nature of MAN*? What harvests of happiness may grow from the seeds of liberty that are now sowing? The cultivation will indeed demand continual attention, unceasing diligence, and frequent conflict with difficulties: but, to object against the benefits offered to us by our Creator, by excepting to the terms annexed, is a crime to be equalled only by its folly.

Delightful are the prospects that will open to the view of *United America*—her sons well prepared to defend their own happiness, and ready to relieve the misery of others—her fleets formidable, but only to the unjust—her revenue sufficient, yet unoppressive—her commerce affluent, but not debasing—peace and plenty within her borders—and the glory that arises from a proper use of power, encircling them.

Whatever regions may be destined for servitude, let us hope, that some portions of this land may be blessed with liberty; let us be con-

vinced, that NOTHING SHORT OF SUCH AN UNION as has been proposed, can preserve the blessing; and therefore let us be resolved to adopt it.

As to alterations, a little EXPERIENCE will cast more light upon the subject, than a multitude of debates. Whatever qualities are possessed by those who object, they will have the candor to confess, that they will be encountered by opponents, not in any respect inferior, and yet differing from them in judgment, upon every point they have mentioned.

Such untired industry to serve their country, did the delegates to the federal convention exert, that they not only laboured to form the best plan they could, but, PROVIDED FOR MAKING AT ANY TIME AMENDMENTS ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE PEOPLE, without shaking the stability of the government. For this end, the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, SHALL call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress.

Thus, by a gradual progress, we may from time to time INTRODUCE EVERY IMPROVEMENT IN OUR CONSTITUTION, that shall be

suitable to our situation. For this purpose, it may perhaps be adviseable, for every state, as it fees occasion, to form with the utmost deliberation, drafts of alterations respectively required by them, and to enjoin their representatives, to employ every proper method to obtain a ratification.

In this way of proceeding, the undoubted sense of every state, collected in the coolest manner, not the sense of individuals, will be laid before the whole union in congress, and that body will be enabled with the clearest light that can be afforded by every part of it, and with the least occasion of irritation, to compare and weigh the sentiments of all *United America*; forthwith to adopt such alterations as are recommended by general unanimity; by degrees to devise modes of conciliation upon contradictory propositions; and to give the revered advice of our common country, upon those, if any such there should be; that in her judgment are inadmissible, because they are incompatible with the happiness of these states.

It cannot be with reason apprehended, that Congress will refuse to act upon any articles calculated to promote the **COMMON welfare**, though they may be unwilling to act upon such as are designed to advance **PARTIAL interests**: but, whatever their sentiments may be, they **MUST** call a convention for proposing amendments, on applications of two-thirds of the legislatures of the several states.

May those good citizens, who have sometimes turned their thoughts towards a second

convention, be pleased to consider, that there are men who speak as they do, yet do not mean as they do. These borrow the sanction of their respected names, to conceal desperate designs. May they also consider, whether persisting in the suggested plan, in preference to the constitutional provision, may not kindle flames of jealousy and discord, which all their abilities and virtues can never extinguish.

F A B I U S.

LETTER IX.

WHEN the sentiments of some objectors, concerning the *British* constitution, are considered, it is surprising, that they should apprehend so much danger to *United America*, as, they say, will attend the ratification of the plan proposed to us, by the late federal convention.

These gentlemen will acknowledge, that *Britain* has sustained many internal convulsions, and many foreign wars, with a gradual advancement in freedom, power, and prosperity. They will acknowledge, that no nation has existed that ever so perfectly united those *distant extremes*, *private security of life, liberty, and property*, with *exertion of public force*—so advantageously combined the various powers of militia, troops, and fleets—or so happily blended together arms, arts, science, commerce, and agriculture. From what spring has flowed this stream of happiness? The gentlemen will acknowledge, that these advantages are derived from *a single democratical branch in her legislature*. They will also acknowledge, that in this branch, called the house of commons, only one hundred and thirty-one are members for counties: that nearly one half of the whole house is chosen by about five thousand seven hundred persons, mostly of no property; that fifty-six members are elected by about three hundred and seventy

persons, and the rest in an enormous disproportion * to the numbers of inhabitants who ought to vote. †

Thus are all the millions of people in that kingdom, said to be represented in the house of commons.

Let the gentlemen be so good, on a subject so familiar to them, as to make a comparison between the *British* constitution, and that proposed to us. Questions like these will then probably present themselves: Is there more danger to our liberty, from such a president as we are to have, than to that of *Britons* from an hereditary monarch with a vast revenue—absolute in the erection and disposal of offices, and in the exercise of the whole executive power—in the command of the militia, fleets, and armies, and the direction of their operations—in the establishments of fairs and markets, the regulation of weights and measures, and coining of money—who can call parliaments with a breath, and dissolve them with a nod—who can, at his will, make war, peace, and treaties irrevocably binding the nation—and who can

* No member of parliament ought to be elected by fewer than the majority of 800, upon the most moderate calculation, according to Doctor Price.

† By the constitution proposed to us, a majority of the house of representatives, and of the senate, makes a quorum to do business: but, if the writer is not mistaken, about a fourteenth part of the members of the house of commons, makes a quorum for that purpose.

grant pardons and titles of nobility, as it pleases him ? Is there more danger to us, from twenty-six senators, or double the number, than to *Britons*, from an hereditary aristocratic body, consisting of many hundreds, possessed of enormous wealth in lands and money—strengthened by a host of dependants—and who, availing themselves of defects in the constitution, send many of these into the house of commons—who hold a third part of the legislative power in their own hands—and who form the highest court of judicature in the nation ? Is there more danger to us, from a house of representatives, to be chosen by all the freemen of the union, every two years, than to *Britons*, from such a sort of representation as they have in the house of commons, the members of which, too, are chosen but every seven years ? Is there more danger to us, from the intended federal officers, than to *Britons*, from such a monarch, aristocracy, and house of commons together ? **W H A T B O D I E S** are there in *Britain*, vested with such capacities for enquiring into, ckecking, and regulating the conduct of national affairs, **A S O U R S O V E R E I G N S T A T E S ?** What proportion does the number of **F R E E H O L D E R S** in *Britain* bear to the number of people ? And what is the proportion in *United America* ?

If any person, after considering such questions, shall say, there will be more danger to our freedom under the proposed plan, than to that of *Britons* under their constitution, he must mean, that *Americans* are, or will be, beyond all comparison, inferior to *Britons* in under-

standing and virtue ; otherwise, with a constitution and government, every branch of which is so extremely popular, they certainly might guard their rights, at least as well, as Britons can guard theirs, under such political institutions as they have ; *unless the person has some inclination to an opinion, that monarchy and aristocracy are favourable to the preservation of their rights.* If he has, he cannot too soon recover himself. If ever monarchy or aristocracy appears in this country, it must be in the hideous form of despotism.

What an infatuated, depraved people must *Americans* become, if, with such unequalled advantages, committed to their trust in a manner almost miraculous, they lose their liberty ? Through a single organ of representation, in the legislature only, of the kingdom just mentioned, though that organ is diseased, such portions of popular sense and integrity have been conveyed into the national councils, as have purified other parts, and preserved the whole in its present state of healthfulness. To their own vigour and attention, therefore, is that people, under providence, indebted for the blessings they enjoy. They have held, and now hold THE TRUE BALANCE in their government. While they retain their enlightened spirit, they will continue to hold it ; and IF THEY REGARD WHAT THEY OWE TO OTHERS, as well as what they owe to themselves, they will, most probably, continue to be happy.*

* If to the union of England and Scotland, a just connection with Ireland be added, ecclesiastical

They know, that there are powers that cannot be *expressly limited*, without injury to themselves ; and their magnanimity scorns any fear of such powers. This magnanimity taught *Charles* the first, that he was but a royal servant ; and this magnanimity caused *James* the second's army, raised, paid, and kept up by himself, to confound him with huzzas for liberty.

They ask not for compacts, of which the national welfare, and, in some cases, its existence, may demand violations. They despise such dangerous provisions against danger.

They know, that *all powers* whatever, even those that, according to the forms of the con-

establishments duly amended ; *additions* to the peerage regulated, and representation of the commons properly improved, it is to be expected, that the tranquility, strength, reputation, and prosperity of the empire will be greatly promoted, the monarchy will probably change into a republic, if representation in the house of commons is not increased by additions from the counties and great trading cities and towns, without this precaution, an increase of the peerage seems likely to accelerate an alteration. These two measures should have, it is apprehended, in such a government and in such a progress of human affairs, a well-tempered co-operation. The power of the crown might thereby become more dignified, moderated, and secured.

The discussion of this subject would embrace a very great number of considerations ; but the conclusion seems to approach as near to demonstration, as an investigation of this kind can do.

stitution, are irresistible and absolute, of which there are many, *ought to be exercised for the public good*; and that when they are used to the public detriment, they are unconstitutionally exerted.

This plain text, commented upon by their experienced intelligence, has led them safe through hazards of every kind: and *they now are, what we see them*. Upon the review, one is almost tempted to believe, that their insular situation, soil, climate, and some other circumstances, have compounded a peculiarity of temperature, uncommonly favourable to *the union of reason and passion*.

Certainly, 'tis very memorable, with what life, impartiality, and prudence, they have interposed on great occasions; have by their patriotism communicated temporary soundness to their disordered representation; and have bid public confusions to cease. Two instances out of many may suffice. The excellent *William the third* was distressed by a house of commons. He dissolved the parliament, and appealed to the people. They relieved him. His successor, the present king, in the like distress, made the same appeal; and received equal relief.

Thus *they* have acted: but *Americans*, who have the same blood in their veins, have, it seems, very different heads and hearts. *We* shall be enslaved by a president, senators, and representatives, chosen by ourselves, and continually rotating within the period of time assigned for the continuance in office of members in the house of commons? 'Tis strange: but, we are told, 'tis true. It may be so. As we

have our all at stake, let us enquire, in what way this event is to be brought about. Is it to be before or after a general corruption of manners? If after, it is not worth attention. The loss of happiness then follows of course. If before, how is it to be accomplished? Will a virtuous and sensible people choose villains or fools for their officers? Or, if they should choose men of wisdom and integrity, will these lose both or either, by taking their seats? If they should, will not their places be quickly supplied by another choice? Is the like derangement again, and again, and again, to be expected? Can any man believe, that such astonishing phenomena are to be looked for? Was there ever an instance, where rulers, thus selected by the people from their own body, have, in the manner apprehended, outraged their own tender connexions, and the interests, feelings, and sentiments of their affectionate and confiding countrymen? Is such a conduct more likely to prevail in this age of mankind, than in the darker periods that have preceded? Are men more disposed now more than formerly, to prefer uncertainties to certainties, things perilous and infamous to those that are safe and honourable? Can all the mysteries of such iniquity, be so wonderfully managed by treacherous rulers, that none of their enlightened constituents, nor any of their honest associates, acting with them in public bodies, shall ever be able to discover the conspiracy, till at last it shall burst with destruction to the whole federal constitution? Is it not *ten thousand times less probable*, that such

transactions will happen, than it is, that we shall be exposed to innumerable calamities, by rejecting the plan proposed, or even by delaying to accept it?

Let us consider our affairs in another light. Our difference of government, participation in commerce, improvement in policy, and magnitude of power, can be no favourite objects of attention to the Monarchies and Sovereignties of *Europe*. Our loss will be their gain—our fall, their rise—our shame, their triumph. Divided, they may distract, dictate, and destroy. United, their efforts will be waves dashing themselves into foam against a rock. May our national character be—an *animated moderation*, that seeks only its own, and will not be satisfied with less.

To his beloved fellow-citizens of *United America*, the writer dedicates this imperfect testimony of his affection, with fervent prayers, for a perpetuity of freedom, virtue, piety, and felicity, to them and their posterity.

F A B I U S.

THE
LETTERS
OF
FABIUS,

IN

1797.

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THE
LETTERS
OF
FABIUS;
CONTAINING,
REMARKS on the PRESENT SITUATION
OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

LETTER I.

TO publish a few observations on the present situation of public affairs, appears to me to be my duty. Under that impression to forbear, would be criminal.

Some of my countrymen want no information that I can give them. To these, it would be presumption to offer it. Others perhaps have less favourable opportunities of obtaining information than I have had. To these I address what I have now to say.

Neither time, nor my infirmities will permit me to be attentive to style, arrangement, or the labour of consulting former publications. I write from my heart—and from recollection.

Having nothing to hope, wish, or fear, but as a commoner of these states, to which I am bound by birth, the tenderest pledges, friendships, and fellow-citizenship, I may be mistaken: but, I can never mean to deceive. My best interests of every kind are ranged against the attempt. All that can be dear to man, is wrapp'd up for me, in the general welfare.

I know, and I respect the formidable host I shall provoke. My motives fortify me. I will provoke, because I esteem them.

After our Revolution, two dangers presented themselves to view—*Internal discord*, and the *jealousy of foreign powers* respecting the form of our government, especially if it should be *remarkably prosperous*, which, no doubt, would be our desire and aim.

Any person acquainted with our transactions, in the two wars about the middle of this century, might easily judge what was to be expected from *internal discord*.

Our first federal constitution partook largely of the dissociating ingredients, that were too redundant among us. It was pregnant with disorders.

In 1787, the most immediate evils of it, were in an extraordinary manner removed.

In 1788, the new constitution commenced its operations, and held its course with an attendant assemblage of great benefits.

In the next year, surprizing political movements began in *France*, apparently auspicious to the cause of liberty and the interests of mankind.

In the following years, the atmosphere was obscured by dark clouds. The neighbouring powers, with some remote, entered into a confederacy against *France*. There, all the passions of the soul were roused. Perils from without, perils from within distracted the understanding, and convulsed humanity. The selfish, the audacious, and the unfeeling seized the disastrous opportunity, and by plausible pretensions to patriotism clutch'd the public opinion, and with it the public force.

The nation had a choice of difficulties. One was, to embroil and weaken themselves, by contests in the disposal of power, and thus more and more expose themselves to their formidable invaders. The other was, to adhere to their leaders, however exceptionable their character and conduct, and thus make up as much strength as they could, to repel their inexorable enemies, reserving better regulations for more quiet and safe times. They chose the last, and as *we* did in a similar struggle, bore many things that were wrong, rather than disturb the exertions for general defence.

The tempest raged with unceasing fury, and in the midst of its direful glares, among vast crowds immolated with detestable iniquity, a sacrifice rather to the policy of his pretended friends, than to the hatred of *France*, fell—one of the best of kings, probably of men—the be-

nevolent *Louis the XVI.* whose virtues I shall value, whose memory I shall revere, whose fate I shall deplore, as long as any sense of esteem, respect, and compassion, embalmed by gratitude, shall rest within the unbroken urn of my heart.

At length—the reign of tyrants, or rather of monsters, ended.

The agitations of *our* minds during these conflicts, were violent. Some among us were so overheated, that they even vindicated the most enormous atrocities of the most abandoned of men, as necessary severities. But—this was not the sentiment of *America*. For every particle of needless violence, she sighed. She perceived the name of liberty profaned, the cause dishonored, the interests violated. What could she do amidst the rapid horrors? She pitied—detested—wept—and execrated.

Through the murky exhalations from a bleeding land, a ray of hope twinkled. Soon afterwards the prospect brightened; and when the sky became clear, with transports of joy we saw *France* firm at her post, and true to herself, to freedom, and to mankind.

Do we censure her, for enduring the horrible despotism of *the monsters*, during the paroxysm of her destiny, and not give her credit, for putting, as soon as circumstances permitted, a period to them and to their abominations? That would not be fair-dealing.

Her submission to them was proportioned to the foreign efforts to destroy her. These com-

peled her, these imposed upon her a necessity to submit. How? By a combination of almost all *Europe*, against a single nation in a new and untried state, proclaiming “ threats of fire and sword,” and labouring to execute those threats, by the most numerous and best disciplined armies, commanded by the most renowned generals in the world.

But—who assisted her to extinguish *the system of terror*? Any emperor, king, or prince? Any of the crowned professors, protectors, and practisers of “ *morality and religion?*” No. What then? Her own good sense, spirit, and humanity. THIS GLORIOUS ACT WAS ALL HER OWN.

It was an act congenial to the feelings of *Frenchmen*. Universal France—the miscreants of murder and pillage are too inconsiderable to be regarded—universal *France* rejoiced in the deed. Read the accounts written by foreigners who were witnesses of the public exultations upon the event. There one may find some traces of *French* mind.

The nation revived. She flung off her enemies from her frontiers, into their own territories. Thither she pursued them, as she had a right to do. The war blazed. Her victories were brilliant. She had declared herself a REPUBLIC, was evidently competent to the final establishment of her liberty, and in that attitude standing upon her trophies, stretched out her right hand to us, and proffered us her friendship.

Thus the *second* danger before mentioned was enervated, if a harmony founded on good dispositions towards one another and mutual interests, could be accomplished.

FABIUS.

APRIL 10, 1797.

LETTER II.

IN order to estimate the value of a cordial amity with *France*, it may be worth while to consider, on what foundation her strength stands.

Her situation is most advantageous ; the soil is fertile ; its products are excellent ; the extent of coasts on the ocean and the Mediterranean, and her rivers, insure to her a flourishing commerce, and a vast maritime power. Her population is prodigious. Before the present war it amounted, at a moderate computation, to twenty-five millions. If to this sum be added that of the conquered countries, which in all probability will be ceded to her at a peace, the whole, it is apprehended, must exceed thirty millions. Industry, vivacity, ingenuity, knowledge, and bravery, with the animating and invigorating principle of broad-based representation, give to this population the utmost respectability.

The other day, in turning over *Polybius*'s celebrated history, my attention was arrested by an unexpected enumeration in his second book, of the forces of the commonwealth of *Rome*, when she had attained to the highest pitch of power, just before *Hannibal*'s invasion. The detail is very precise as to numbers and the countries that supplied them. His conclusion is this—“ *the whole of their strength consisted in no less, than seven hundred thousand infantry, and seventy thousand cavalry.*”

Among the particulars, he mentions "the ordinary people mustered in *Rome* and *Campania*, amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and twenty-three thousand horse." These, if I understand him rightly, were not armed for immediate service, but might be called upon, if occasions required their aid. Therefore, these words, "*the whole of their strength*," appear to mean all the persons able to bear arms.

I believe, that the learned, in their calculations allow, that on an average, in a number of five or six persons, one will be found to be an able bodied man. Let a rule much more restrictive be applied, for determining the number of men able to bear arms in *France*, and the result will be, that their number is four times as great as that mentioned by the historian.

This is a gigantic power indeed. If it appears tremendous to some, let them amuse their fancies, if they please, with whittling it down as much as they can: but, let them not forget, that *France* has actually employed in military service, in one year, nearly double the number of the total before mentioned. Let us go further. Let us strike off one half of the complement which fair calculation gives us. Still it remains a fact sufficiently ascertained, that the strength of *France* is at this moment, twice as great as that of *Rome* in the plenitude of her power at the period mentioned.

Nor is the comparison to be dismissed with this observation, unless we are willing to deceive ourselves. To follow it out, another circumstance must be considered.

Of the seven hundred and seventy thousand men just spoken of, scarcely a moiety was composed of *Romans*. The rest were *allies*, of which an exact catalogue is given in the history.

These *allies* were nations, who by various motives were induced to join the *Romans* in arms ; but, so imperfect was the connection, that not long after, a fierce war broke out between these *allies* and the *Romans*, that brought the last to the brink of destruction.

The power of *France* leans not on such ill-matched supporters. Her power is *native*, and not attenuated by being dispersed in a long, narrow country like *Italy*,* with rivers comparatively of slight importance, but bound together in a compactness blended with facilities, equally propitious to intercourse and consolidation. It is an *Herculean* body, of strength and activity—unparalleled in the history of mankind.

It may be said, that “ the power of states is relative : a mighty power may be encountered by mightier powers.” Granted.

At the time I am speaking of, proud and warlike *Macedon* was a formidable kingdom. *Greece*, famed for arts and arms, abounded with sensible and gallant men. The *Syrian* empire was large and strong. *Gaul*, the former victor of *Rome*, was dreadful.—Above all—with one foot fixed on *Africa*, and the other on *Spain*, the genius of **CARTHAGE**, like a

* Italy is spoken of here, as it was before the name was extended to other countries.

stupendous colossus, bestrode the sea, waving his terrific flag over its subject billows, and in a voice of thunder, imperiously dictating law, hard law, to nations.

All these, in their turns, separately became enemies to *Rome*; and in their turns, all the “lions, bears, leopards, rams, and goats”* bowed before her irresistible birds.† The *Euxine*, the *Caspian*, the *Perfian-gulf*, and the *Ocean*, were made the boundaries of her dominions.

Against *France* we have seen, all at once combined, *Russia*, *Prussia*, *Austria*, *Germany*, *The United Provinces*, *Belgium*, *Britain*, *Spain*, *Sardinia*, and *Italy*.

How she has disposed of some of these adversaries, and how she has disabled others of them, we very well know. What further *proof* of her puissance she may exhibit, time will shew: but, if we are to judge of the future from the past, which perhaps is a good way of judging in such cases, it will not be hereafter any more than it has been already, only what the lawyers call a “*semi plena probatio*,” a half proof. It will be *full* and *decisive*.

F A B I U S.

* Daniel, chapters 7th and 8th.

† The Romans took for their emblem an Eagle, a homely, solitary, silent bird of prey, never celebrated for its temper or its battles. With a much happier fancy, the cock has been assigned to the French, a beautiful, social, sprightly, generous, good-natured bird, that crows and fights, and, if over-matched, dies——struggling for victory.

LETTER III.

“*IS France then to become as dominating as ancient Rome?*” I do not know. I hope she never will. But, this I am much inclined to believe, that if she ever becomes so, it will be owing to the miserable policy, that forbidding her to return into the bosom of peace, and to enjoy the inestimable and tranquilizing pleasures of civil and domestic life, adds irritation to irritation, and *obliges* her to be a MILITARY REPUBLIC, as *Rome* was. It is evident to me, that on the purest principles, she wishes for peace; but is convinced she cannot obtain it, unless it be by the sword.

“Can *France* wish for peace, when she makes such exorbitant demands?”

Yes. Multitudes of her citizens have been slain; many severe calamities have been inflicted upon her; and she has been put to an expence hardly to be calculated. Why? Because she was resolved to be free, and to “institute such a government, as to her seemed most likely to effect her safety and happiness.”* She had a

* “We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends,

right to be free ; and to institute such a government. What right then had the coalesced princes to interfere in the business ? None. But they did interfere. She has therefore two other rights springing up from that injustice : a right to indemnification, and a right to security against a repetition of such injuries.

“ Supposing, she has those rights, still her demands are exorbitant, and if admitted, would destroy the balance of power, and endanger the welfare of *Europe*.”

As to the first part of this observation, it may be sufficient to observe, that when *we* were treating of peace with *Great-Britain*, our demands were thought exorbitant ; and they have been thought so since : but, we obtained them. The charge of exorbitancy is easily made, but not easily to be maintained. The fitness of the application to any particular case, must depend upon a number of peculiar circumstances, and several of these perhaps cannot be by foreigners, accurately investigated or properly estimated.

France is in possession by conquest, in a just war, a war of defence, for the machinations against her were prior to her declarations. She is the only republic attracting consideration in

it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

Declaration of INDEPENDENCE by The United States of America,

Europe. She is detested by most if not all the princes in that quarter of the world. There is not a nation there, in whose good will towards her she can confide. She must take care of herself; she ought to do it; and she will do it: whatever exclamations are made about exorbitancy. Nor is there a great power in *Europe*, in whose hands the objects comprehended in her demands would be more favourable to general welfare, than in her hands.

She has made peace with several of the belligerent powers, upon reasonable and moderate terms. This behaviour evinces her temper; and if nations had more command of *their own tempers* than they now have, they would render more justice than they do, to the character of *France*. They will be undeceived, and most heartily do I wish, that the explanation may not be delayed. 'Tis time the tragedy should end, and that men should look at one another for other purposes, than to aim weapons of destruction.

I am addressing men of sense and integrity, real *Americans*. They know, they feel, that the spirit of liberty is a benign spirit.—From them a sacred impartiality—*sacred*, because mingled with sensibilities allied to Heaven—may be expected.

Let any one of these lay his hand on his breast, and upon the honour of a freeman, answer this question—Whether, if conspiring empires, kingdoms, and states, actuated by a hated unappeasable because arising from a conduct meriting esteem, had destroyed millions of our citizens, had rendered more millions of fathers,

mothers, wives, children, sisters, brothers, and other relatives miserable, and had overwhelmed our country with a deluge of distresses, he would think such *demands* as *France* is said to make, a compensation for our sufferings, or more than a reasonable security against a renewal of them?

Let us remember, how *we* thought and acted on a similar occasion. What the *Mississippi* and *The Lakes*, then were to us, the *Rhine* now is to *France*, with this difference, that our demands as to distant objects went more to aggrandisement than defence, those of *France* more to defence than aggrandisement.

Would *we* have continued the war for these remote boundaries, this sweeping circuit within whose flowing line scarcely a trace was sketched of that beautiful picture which is to fill it, if we have sufficient skill? We would.

Is *France* then criminal, in contending for the *Rhine* as a boundary, a river that washes a long tract of her domain, is of immediate and the utmost consequence to her, and is so placed by nature as conveniently to serve, among other uses, for “dividing to nations their inheritance?”

Well may our allies say to their imperial, royal, and high enemies—“ We have not been engaged in childrens’ play, at the end of which each takes what was his own before it began. Our contest may, indeed, have been play to you, issuing mandates for slaughter amidst the safe though soft indulgencies of your courts, and diverted with expectations of lucky hits: but, to multitudes of *French* citizens it has been—death.”

If it was on your part, as some of you have said, an unhappy disorder that seized you in an extraordinary manner, we ought to observe, that persons in your elevated stations are very apt to grow giddy, and to be much vexed by these fits of insanity ; and therefore prudence requires, that we should keep you at a convenient distance, lest in another frolic or fury, you should destroy as many men, women, and children, as you have within these last four years."

F A B I U S.

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LETTER IV.

WE come to the second part of the objection.

If hereafter a wild spirit of ambition, should prompt *France* to imitate *Rome*, it will not be her acquisitions of *The Netherlands* and countries on the left bank of the *Rhine*, that will cause her to succeed. What are *they*, when contrasted with all *Europe*? The event of such a nefarious project, would not depend on that point. If it could not be executed without that accession, it could not be executed with it.

There are other circumstances that would be much more likely to give it success: and these are the follies and vices of princes.

Cast your eyes around, and behold the condition of the human race—a condition, that while it evidences their wretchedness, and extorts your commiseration, yet amidst *the Ruins of Man*, bears testimony to the *original glories* of his nature, “whose builder is *GOD*.”

How have men, “made in the image of their Creator,” become thus depressed? Because their disposition is gentle, social, grateful, well-meaning, and therefore confiding.

These qualities they rashly indulged, not duly attending to another divine gift—REASON—the guide and guardian of the Microcosm.

No gift of our Maker can be neglected or abused with impunity. His laws are not made, to be broken.

The cunning, the hard-hearted, laden with lusts, availed themselves of the means afforded

to them by the innocent and the imprudent. They affected to be benefactors that they might be masters. They were too successful. *They* fastened chains upon the hands that were held up to Heaven in supplication for blessings upon *their* heads. The interests of the *many*, pleasing hecatombs in the religion of governors, have been sacrificed to the passions of the *few*. Tyranny and slavery, intemperance and misery have raged and are now raging, over the globe.

To nations thus steeped in woes, when liberty advances towards them, “the trumpet may give an uncertain sound”—but, when they “understand it they will prepare themselves for the battle”—unless justice be rendered them.

THE BALANCE OF POWER so much talked of, is generally a compact between the oppressors of mankind, settling among themselves, the quantity of mischief which each may commit, without being disturbed by the rest: and I appeal to history for the truth of what I now say. We have had a sample, in our own days, of this attention to the balance of power—**IN THE PARTITION OF POLAND**—by which a noble nation was despoiled of liberty, at the very moment when they were most sensible of its value: a deed, as base and as cruel as any, the records ancient or modern of tyrannical hostilities against the human race, can supply.

I have said *generally*, because there have been some wise and commendable efforts, to maintain a balance of power in *Europe*. I have in my recollection, the alliances formed in the be-

ginning of the seventeenth century, and continued to the peace of *Munster*, near the middle of it, for controuling the power of the house of *Austria*; and these alliances were crowned with success. I have also in my recollection, the alliances formed afterwards in that century, and renewed about the beginning of this, for controuling the power of the house of *Bourbon*, and these alliances too were crowned with success.

These were manly, generous exertions, meriting to succeed, and may all such exertions have a like issue. Should *France* ever adopt the principles that were adopted by the heads of those houses, she will become as detestable as they have been and now are, and will deserve to be with them condemned to everlasting infamy.

What did these houses, the exalted artificers of evils, the illustrious disturbers of the earth gain, by all their policy and all their guilt, all their frauds and all their outrages? Solid misery for *their affectionate people*; for *themselves*, one of them a shattered empire, the contempt of those they once contemned, and a long account of debits, the payment of which is now in a train of exaction: and the other of them provinces and fortresses, whose projecting impediments and terrors now forbid their posterity even to behold their native land.

“*Discite iustitiam, moniti, et non temnere*” Deum—
Take warning—revere justice—and despise not the ruler of the Universe.

LETTER V.

IF *France*, in a delirium of intoxication, should ever aim at the subjugation of *Europe*, or a great part of it, what will prevent such alliances being formed against her, as have heretofore put a stop to the aggressions of her monarchs? To others, the cause will be, as it was then, energetically cementing. Each will know, that his liveliest hope without such alliances is only—to be the last devoured. What will hinder such alliances from being as successful as former ones?—Will there not be as much force in them, as there was in the preceding? There will be, and a greater force, * if they are formed with the same prudence and fidelity.

The late successes of *France* offer no proof to the contrary. The confederacy against her, was framed on criminal and discordant principles. *Criminal*, because its views were—*dismemberment*, and *compulsion to slavery*. As soon as some of the confederates enlightened by irresistible arguments discovered, that the scheme was hopeless, or at least that the candle was of more value than the game, they closed the tables.

The principles were *discordant* too. There was no point of union, as in the laudable alliances before mentioned. The associates were

* Several countries in Europe have increased—in power since the last century, much more than *France* has done.

not fighting for their *common safety*, unspeakably interesting and impulsive to all, but each for his peculiar share of *plunder*. Some of them found out, that they did not stand so good a chance in this brigandage, as others. In this hunt with lions, the strongest were likely to take all the prey to themselves, and their companions to sit down at the end of it, hungry, weary, lacerated, and licking their wounds. These accordingly left the chace, and betook themselves to a better employment.

In these respects, the confederacy was defective.

Again—the principal operations were at the frontiers of *France*. This circumstance gave her great advantages; especially if she could cast the war, as she did, into neighbouring countries of her enemies. Her domestic resources were within reach. Contributions aided them. This is a case very different, from that of traversing remote, hostile regions, of climates dissimilar to her own, abounding with difficulties of passage, and filled with warlike and enraged inhabitants. She has experienced the obstinacy of such obstructions, whenever her armies have entered far into *Germany*.

Look at the map of *Europe*, and see the proportion which *France* bears to the whole of it. Examine any treatise upon the comparative population of the different countries. I don't pretend to be exact, but, I believe, none of them estimates the population of *France*, at more than one-fifth of the aggregate. Many of these nations have a redundancy of all the materials re-

quisite for the manufacture of arms, and understand the art of war as well as the *French*. If their countries shall be invaded, why should not they feel the same passions excited, and resist as firmly as the *French* did, when their country was invaded? It will not be said, I presume, that they will have LESS at stake; for, if the *French* had MORE at stake, *what was it?* It could not be soil or climate, though both are delightful in *France*: for every nation appears to be so well reconciled to its own, as to prefer it to that of others, and it is not a fiction of the poet, when he says—

“ *What happier nature shrinks at with affright,
The hard inhabitant contends is right.* ”

If I am not mistaken, some learned and ingenuous men, natives of the northerly and ruggedest parts of *Europe*, have written books to prove them to be the most charming of the earth. What MORE then had the *French* to contend for, than other nations of *Europe* would have, upon an invasion?—Whatever IT was, since it produced such ardor and perseverance in the defence of their country, humanity must dictate a wish to benevolent minds, that every other nation may have THE SAME animating and invigorating object before them.

Neither will it be said, I presume, that the *French* are braver than the other nations of *Europe*. If it should be said, it is not necessary to controvert the assertion. This seems plain, that if they are, their friendship is worth cultivating.

Other causes for the secession of some of the confederates mixed with those already mentioned.

The hereditary aversions of *Spain* and *Prussia*, covered over for a while with deceitful ashes since blown off, again began to glow. By the first, *Gibraltar* and *Jamaica* could not be forgot. *Corsica* as the front door, and the *West India* islands at the back door, seized by *Great-Britain*, afforded new matter for meditation.

Prussia might acquire more by friendship with *France*, whose potency was now indisputable, than by the ill-concocted and ever-suspected amity of *Austria*. At least it was no inconsiderable point to save men and money, while her ancient enemy was profusely wasting both.
HAPPILY FOR HER, SHE WAS NOT SO BLINDED WITH PASSION, AS TO BE INCAPABLE OF DISCERNING HER TRUE INTEREST.

What a pity ! that a confederacy formed for such glorious purposes, as the preservation of the balance of power in *Europe*, her general welfare, and still more—for the preservation of “*morality and religion*,” should be forsaken for such inferior and shameful considerations ! Yet, so it has been, and so it ever will be, while the rulers of mankind, holding out specious pretences to deceive the too credulous world, are only devising leagues for the gratification of their own inordinate desires. Piques, jealousies, intrigues and temptations of partial advantage, will be continually fracturing a coalition, that has no found attracting principle of adhesion : or in other words, the same viciousness

of disposition that generated it, will infallibly destroy it. “A corrupt tree *cannot* bring forth good fruit.”

When the principle is right, the effect is directly the reverse.

From these premises may we not justly infer, that, if the domination of *France* shall be really apprehended by *Europe*, she possesses adequate means of defence?

That it is really apprehended does not appear to be the case at present: but, on the contrary, the establishment of such a republic as *France*, will beam with an auspicious aspect on mankind. Who that is the least acquainted with their situation, but must ardently wish for its amelioration? In 1783, congress, in an address to the citizens of these states, declared their expectation, that from *our* revolution, THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY would acquire a dignity and lustre which it had never yet enjoyed; and that an EXAMPLE would be set which COULD NOT BUT HAVE the most favourable influence on THE RIGHTS OF MANKIND.” The “example” has been followed by the greatest people upon earth; and if such vast benefits to our fellow-creatures could be produced by *our* conduct, how transcendent must they be, that are to be expected from republican *France*?

The governors of nations if they do not learn humanity, will at least be taught to pay a greater respect than they have been accustomed to do, to the happiness of the governed. They will be obliged for their own safety, to communicate as much as they possibly can of the blessings

enjoyed by freemen, to those over whom they exercise authority. Republics cannot easily be impoverished or set a bleeding, by the rapacity, the pride, the rashness, the ambition, or other vices of a few individuals. HEREDITARY RULERS MUST TAKE GREAT CARE, THAT THEY DO NOT GIVE CAUSE FOR DANGEROUS COMPARISONS.

For these reasons, and such others as a train of thought upon the subject may suggest, it is apprehended, that those among us, who have supposed, that the establishment of *France* as a republic, all her demands obtained, will give her an *unjust* or *improper* elevation, may make up their minds with much satisfaction.

F A B I U S.

LETTER VI.

ANOTHER consideration of vast magnitude in the present situation of our affairs, is this—What *will be* the state of *France* at the termination of the war?

This consideration is of vast magnitude to us, not that any one can be so weak as to imagine, it can with prophetic certainty be foretold; but, because if we think that state will be unfavorable to her, we may be led into most pernicious mistakes.

A very ingenious and learned writer has told us, that “*France* will be obliged to return under the former despotism, or will be divided into a number of democratical republics.”

If we entertain the same notion, perhaps we may act upon it. If we do, and it proves to be an error, even his abilities and knowledge, extraordinary as they are, will be perplexed to calculate the consequences.

The victories and conquests of *France* have been described in our news-papers. They need not be recapitulated.

“But—their armies have been frequently defeated.”

So it has often happened to nations, that at the conclusion of wars have come off triumphant. So it was with us.

When an oppressed nation draws the sword to assert her liberty, all the noblest passions, affections, and faculties are brought into ardent concentration. The collected rays that flash'd

from the glasses of *Archimedes*, were not more irresistible. For instances in point, I refer to *Rome* after the expulsion of the *Tarquins*, to *Switzerland*, to *The United Provinces*, and to *these States*. Any man, if but slightly acquainted with the workings of the human mind, in emotions where selfishness expands to sanctity, cannot overlook this commanding temperament.—Whence derived, let those enquire, who doubt whether our adorable Maker loves his creatures of mankind, and approves their vindication of the rights, which blended with their reason, he has been most graciously pleased to “breathe”* into their existence.

“ But—there are multitudes of disaffected persons in *France*, who wish for peace at any rate.”

So there were among us ; and so there have been, and will be in all nations under the like circumstances. *Great-Britain* trusting in such tales, was encouraged to continue the havoc of desolation in this land, till news more strange and true, baffled fleets and captured armies, convinced her that her reliance was illusion.

If a man had conversed with people in many parts of this country during our last war, he might have been induced to believe, that *America* was ready for unconditional submission. But that would have been a mistake. The impulse was given, and operating according to the laws of nature ; but, it was looked for in wrong places : just as if one should judge of

* *Genesis*, 2. 7.

the tide in a river by observing the eddies at its sides, and believe it was running down, when in the channel it was flowing up with a strong stream.

“ It is said—the finances of *France* are quite deranged.”

She confesses it.

So are the finances of her enemies. They deny it. Yet—they beg for peace: she prefers a continuance of the war. Let us put these things together: and——think.

“ It is also said—the war is continued, because her rulers are averse to peace, through fear of losing their offices at its restoration.”

That is to say, that men certainly of eminent talents, appointed by and dependant upon the people, with recent and terrible examples before them, would risk their lives to save their posts. The fact is, that *France* applauds the conduct of her government in breaking off the late *négociation* with *Great-Britain*, and so general and so warm is this sentiment, that individuals who loudly arraigned the haughtiness displayed at its commencement, with impassioned praises celebrate the firmness manifested in its dissolution.

“ It is further said—if the armies should be disbanded, and the soldiers return to their homes, there will be a hideous explosion.”

That is to say—that bodies of men, who have given every demonstration men could give, of PUBLIC SPIRIT and LOVE OF COUNTRY, when received with transports of gratitude on their natal soil, the sweet remem-

briancer of their earliest and purest pleasures ; where the tenderest affections shielded their helpless infancy, where all the charities of life with untutored eloquence plead their gentle rights, and where even every tree, stone, and brook claims kindred—will instantly be transformed into villains and traitors, and destroy those very objects, for the defence of which they had so long offered themselves—to die.

F A B I U S.

LETTER VII.

FROM these fables let us turn to history.

About two hundred and sixty years before the commencement of our æra, a war, of such influence on the affairs of mankind, that though twenty centuries of time have been since measured out, yet every nation in *Europe* at this day, feels impressions from the event—broke out between CARTHAGE and ROME.

The *Romans* had not then made any establishment out of *Italy*. *Carthage* was possessed of very large dominions in *Africa*, had made considerable acquisitions in *Spain*, was sovereign of *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, and all the islands on the coast of *Italy*, and had extended her conquests to a great part of *Sicily*. She was then, and had been for ages, unrivalled *mistress* of the *Mediterranean*, the celebrated theatre of ancient maritime adventure, and her navigation alone bounded over the mountainous waves of the ocean.

The *Romans* got out a fleet as well as they could. But, so inconsiderable was it in comparison with that of the *Carthaginians*, and so unskilful were they in naval tactics, that most of their ships were taken, others dashed in pieces by a storm, and the battered remains retired to a port in *Italy*.

They had contrived to transport * an army

* *POLYBIUS*, in his first book, says, that the *ROMANS* were so unprovided with shipping for

to *Sicily*, an island of vast consequence to *Carthage*, and there they were successful: but, they observed, that the coasts of their own country lay exposed to the depredations of their enemies, who often made descents upon them, while the dominions of the *Carthaginians* were in perfect tranquility. Resolved, therefore to be as formidable at sea as they were on land, they ordered one hundred *quinqueremes*, the ships of the line in those days, and twenty *triremes*, equivalent to the frigates of modern times, to be built. So unexperienced were they, that a *Carthaginian* galley, which venturing too near the shore had been stranded and taken, was the model for this armament.

The *Romans* immediately set about this laborious work, cut down trees in their forests, and conveyed them to the sea side, with an expedition of which no example was known. The fleet was built and equipped in two months, reckoning from the day the trees began to be cut down.

While some were employed in building the gallies, others assembling those who were to serve on board, instructed them in the use of the oar in the following odd manner. They constructed benches on the shore, in the same fashion and order as they were to be in the gallies, and placing the men on these benches, an officer by signs with his hand directed them

transporting this army, that they were obliged to borrow vessels from their neighbours for that purpose.

how to dip all their oars at once, and with the like regularity to recover them. Thus they became acquainted with the management of the oar; and as soon as the vessels were finished and fitted out, they spent some time in practising on the water what they had learned on shore.

The exertions of the *Romans* on this occasion, appeared so astonishing to *Polybius*, that they engaged him to undertake writing a history of the war.

After various success, this fleet was almost wholly destroyed by a storm. The *Romans* got out another. That was destroyed in like manner. They were so much affected by these losses, that it was decreed—that for the future no more than fifty vessels should be sent out, and that these should be employed only in guarding the coasts of *Italy*, and in transporting troops to *Sicily*.

After some time, they resumed their usual vigour, and put a new fleet to sea, knowing they could by no other means keep their hold of *Sicily*, so important to them by its vicinity to *Italy*, and for other reasons. This fleet consisted of an hundred and twenty gallies. The *Carthaginians* with only ninety, met, defeated it, and took all the ships but thirty.

Still undaunted and persevering, the *Romans* fitted out another fleet of the same force. The *Carthaginians* despising them since the late defeat, sailed out to fight it: but their pilots foreseeing that a storm was coming on, retired to a safe harbour. The *Romans* not aware of the impending danger, kept the sea.

came on. The destruction was total. Not a single galley, not a single transport, and there were eight hundred, with a large army on board, and laden with all sorts of provisions and military stores, escaped.

The *Romans* now laid aside all thoughts of building new gallies. The number of *Roman* citizens appeared by a census now taken, to be reduced no less than 86,575 since the last census was taken.

However a large fleet of privateers was fitted out, and the commonwealth lent to private persons, *gratis*, the gallies she had left. These privateers acting together, obtained some advantages over the *Carthaginians*; and committed great devastations. They were afterwards destroyed by a storm.

The steady *Romans* fitted out at the expence of private persons, to be reimbursed *when the republic should be able*, another fleet. It consisted of two hundred *quinqueremes*. The new armament far exceeded any of the former. It was built on an improved model taken from the *Carthaginians*. Thus, *at last* well prepared the *Romans* soon gained a complete victory; became masters at sea, as well as on land: and, after a contest of twenty-four years, in which they lost seven hundred gallies, while their enemies lost only five hundred, made an honourable and advantageous peace, by which, all their demands being obtained, among other articles, *Sicily* and the islands near to it and *Italy* were yielded to them.

F A B I U S.

LETTER VIII.

OF all national powers, that which is chiefly derived from commercial resources, seems to be the most precarious. It depends too much on extraneous support. It must be exercised not only with great wisdom, but also with great virtue ; that is, it must be beneficial to others, as well as profitable to the people possessing it, or it cannot be permanent. Our Creator never made individuals or nations, to be kind to themselves only. When attended with eminent success, it is apt to generate a spirit of pride, dissipation, insolence, rashness, rapaciousness, and cruelty. The eagerness for wealth, increases with acquisition. It rages. It is a pestilence. Altered nations preserve scarcely a resemblance of themselves. Hardly a feature of their promising youth, remains in their debauched manhood. They, who were worthily diligent and decently frugal, become wickedly active and impudently avaricious : and, they who nobly defended their own liberty, deem it glorious to destroy the liberty of others. With them, justice is a restraint : Benevolence a weakness. To use an expression of *Thucydides*, " Nothing is thought dishonorable that is pleasing, nothing iniquitous that is gainful.

Let us bestow our attention for a moment, on *Athens*, *Carthage*, *Venice*, and *Holland*. Each of these states, by the force of commerce, has been predominant over considerable tracts of

the world ; and to each of them might many nations say, with the old *Roman*—“ *By our wretchedness thou art great.*” Thus commerce calculated by its nature to be an instrument for increasing the felicity of mankind, has in many instances become a scourge.

If a conclusion may be drawn from a multitude of events delivered down to us by unprejudiced historians, the monitory result is—that the conduct just mentioned will be found ultimately to produce consequences, directly the reverse of the purposes intended by the short-sighted perpetrators—and that where nations raise themselves, by proudly trampling upon others, although they may by bravery and management obtain the most conspicuous eminence, yet, by THE IMMUTABLE LAW OF OUR NATURE THAT FORBIDS THE EXISTENCE OF HAPPINESS WITHOUT VIRTUE, the causes of declension constantly intermingle with their criminal successes—“ *Grow with their growth and strengthen with their strength*”—and at the period when their guilty glory reaches its greatest height, then precisely are they near to their fall.*

* How strictly conformable are such events to the divine denunciations in so many parts of the Scriptures, against national insolence and tyranny, of which the following texts may serve for examples.

“ *Thus saith the LORD GOD—behold I am against thee and will make thee most desolate. I will lay thy city waste, and thou shalt be desolate; and thou shall know that I am the LORD.* Be-

Each of the republics lately mentioned was deeply guilty. Could the murdered and the miserable, the victims of their crimes, rise from their beds of death, and move in silent procession before our eyes; we recollecting the delicacies, the virtues, the tender affections, the generous sensations, that in their persons had been violated and racked into the utmost exacerbation of human woes—though conscious to ourselves that their sufferings were passed, how would our brains burn with anguish, if floods of tears should not relieve us?

For what were these crimes committed? For no better purposes than—

“To drink from gems and sleep on Tyrian dyes.”

I had proceeded thus far in these letters, when the late advices from *Italy* came to my knowledge. How the actions there may influence the councils at *Vienna* and *London*, is uncertain,

cause thou hast had a perpetual hatred, and hast shed blood by the force of the sword—because thou hast said, these nations and these countries shall be mine, and we will possess them—therefore, as I live, saith the Lord God, I will do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy, which thou hast used out of thy hatred against them—and thou shalt know that I am the Lord, and that I have heard all thy blasphemies which thou hast spoken—saying they are laid desolate, they are given us to consume—I have heard them—when the whole earth rejoiceth, I will make thee desolate, and they shall know that I am the Lord.

Ezekiel 35.

My fervent desire is, that united with other considerations they may speedily produce a peace that will assure lasting tranquility and a large abundance of benefits to *Europe*, and to all parts of the world that have any kind of connection with any of her powers.

There is not a nation upon earth, whose welfare would not give me pleasure: And, as I wish, that the observations now offered to my fellow-citizens, may not be impeached, at a period so momentous to my country as the present, by a charge of prejudice in favor of *France*, or of enmity to *Great-Britain*, I trust, that by the candid I shall be pardoned, if with anticipation I answer to such a charge.

If to believe that the *French* are engaged in a just war—that their success in it will be favorable to the interests of liberty—that they are as brave, generous, and humane a people as any we know—and to wish that there may be a perpetual and most intimate friendship between them and these states, is to be prejudiced—I am prejudiced.

If to wish that *Charles Fox* * may be the minister in *Great-Britain*, and that she may ne-

* This man's character, with some spots, as it is said, and not small ones upon it, is most resplendent. For comprehension of mind, selection of points, seizure of opportunities, grandeur of design, and generosity of thought, he is so far elevated above his opponents, that their inferiority must be manifest to any dispassionate observer. Well might a great historian say of him that—"He was

ver be conquered by *France*—that she may immediately, without losing an instant—a perpetuity of consequences may be involved in an instant—make peace with her, on terms mutually advantageous—that then they may enjoy a participation of benefits, enhanced by the participation—and that imitating THE BEING to whom they owe their happiness, they may communicate it as fully as the utmost exertions of their united powers will enable them, to others—so that the blessings flowing from their concord, may far, far exceed “in measure, number, and weight,” the evils that have sprung from their discord, and that amidst the joy-born acclamations of grateful nations, they may have an inheritance in the highest human felicity, is to be an enemy to *Great-Britain*—
I am her enemy.

a man of honor”—and that—“*In the conduct of a party, he approved himself competent to the conduct of an Empire.*” Happy would it have been for Britain, happy for millions, and among them for the royal family in France, if this enlightened and benevolent statesman had presided over the affairs of his country for the last seven years.

In eloquence he may have equals, but what equals has he in excellencies of heart?

In his tour of Switzerland, September, 1783, says the historian in another place, “he gave me two days of free and private society. He seemed to feel, and even to envy the happiness of my situation; while I admired the powers of a superior man, as they are blended in his attractive charac-

What real *American* can desire the desolation of that land, the birth place of heroes, patriots, sages, and saints—from which we have derived the blood that circulates in our arteries and veins—from which we have received the very current of our thoughts—a land, whose meads, hills, and streams point out the spots, where her gallant sons met death, face to face, for—LIBERTY: a land, whose kind-hearted nobles, in every chatter wrenched in attestation of their freedom from the gripe of tyranny, inserted clauses in favor of the commons, while the nobles of other countries, after involving the people in their selfish quarrels, pretended to be leagues for public good, left them naked to injuries, and made splendid bargains with

ter, with the softness and simplicity of a child. Perhaps no human being was ever more perfectly exempt from malevolence, vanity, or falsehood."

What an eulogium, from so able a judge of mankind, and one who disapproved his politics at that time.

If to this knowledge of the man, we add the emphatic import of the memorable words he used in parliament, the beginning of last year, probably all impartial persons will unite in sentiment upon his merits: they were these—“ I regard it as a circumstance of good fortune to me that—I NEVER GAVE AN OPINION, BY WHICH ONE DROP OF BRITISH BLOOD WAS SHED, OR ANY OF ITS TREASURES SQUAN-DERED.

their monarchs for themselves. The after-reckoning soon followed. Their provoked kings broke in upon them. In dismay, they cried out for help, but experienced the holy power of that eternal truth, that—**THEY WHO ARE FALSE TO OTHERS, ARE FALSE TO THEMSELVES.** There was no help.

To this difference of behaviour, the nobles of *Britain* at this day, in a great measure owe that portion of freedom in which they partake with the people, when the nobles of other countries are—what I wish to forget. **SO MUCH WISER AND BETTER IS IT TO COMMUNICATE THAN TO MONOPOLIZE THOSE THINGS, IN WHICH ALL OUGHT TO SHARE.**

Another praise is due to *Britain*—for the purity of her tribunals, in the administration of justice.

The history of mankind, as far as I am acquainted with it, does not afford an instance, where the stream has flowed so clear, for such a length of time. Power or faction has not been able to pollute it. The poor and the rich, the labourer and the nobleman, have equal rights to the wholesome draughts. There, even peers are blameless.

Yet three evils have sprung up on its sides. One—the labyrinth * of roads leading towards

* “ *Res admonet, ut de principiis juris, et quibus modis ad hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem legum perventum est, &c.* ”

it : another—the expences of approaching it. The last is, that some of the agents whose duty it has been to facilitate the access, have for their own profit put up false directions for those who seek it. These evils must be removed. To know their title, to see but not to taste the refreshing waters, is too hard a lot for innocence and distress.

F A B I U S.

LETTER IX.

MY intenton is, to present to my countrymen a comparison between the *Romans* and the *French* on one hand, and between the *Carthaginians* and the *British* on the other ; and that then with such reflections as may be suggested to them, by the information their several opportunities may enable them to obtain on subjects of this sort, they may give themselves all the satisfaction that can be acquired from the probabilities of contingency in human affairs, what will be the final event of the war between *France* and *Great-Britain*.

I have not the least doubt in my mind, what the event will be : but, this is only the opinion of an individual, sensible that no weight can be attached to his opinion, unless it be supported by just reasoning. Whether it is so supported, is submitted to the consideration of his fellow-citizens.

Different things admit and require different kinds of proof. We do not see sounds or hear light. Things in themselves may be equally true, and yet to us not be capable of the same kind or degree of evidence. From the misty regions of possibility, we rise through the pleasing grades of probability, till we arrive at *moral certainty*, its highest cheerful point. To demand another kind or a greater degree of evidence than the case allows, is to *deceive* ourselves. It weakens, and with a particular disposition destroys the force of that evidence.

which we really have. One error leads to others ; and *this temper*, if indulged, will conduct us into absurdity, contempt of verity, and a fatal rashness. We may think ourselves at liberty, to determine against propositions supported by strong evidence, without any evidence equally or nearly as strong to justify that determination. *Hence the WISDOM of INFIDELITY.* But, we are not at liberty to decide, with this imperious peevishness. *Reason* forbids it ; and the constitution of our nature enforces the prohibition, by its accompanying sanctions. If we were to act thus in the common affairs of life, we should become not only ridiculous, but unhappy too : and if we act thus in great affairs, we shall become more ridiculous and unhappy.

Some eminent geniuses, peremptorily decide against *propositions*, though supported by the best evidence things of that sort will admit, and for which, supposing them to be true, better could not be given. With *them*, nothing is to be assented to or believed, but what has the highest evidence. All other things are uncertain, lost in a *terra incognita*, unworthy a place among the tenets of the initiated, and fit only for the dull credulity of the profane vulgar. For *their* minds, inflamed with a lust of truth — “*DILA CUPIDO*” — indubitable certainty will not do. Their aspiring and comprehensive souls must embrace *infallible* certainty.

Yet, in the uniform tenor of their conduct, these *Ixions* willingly descend from their beloved clouds, humbly submit to put themselves

upon a level with inferior minds, and meekly condescend to *be governed*, as they are by *probability*: so that *reason* is a very good thing when it accords with their *inclinations*, and a very poor one when it does not. It is therefore very difficult to know, what better faculty than *reason* they suppose they could have infused into man, if they had pre-existed, and been consulted at his creation. In all probability, it would have been brilliant—and useless.

If the state of affairs and the course of events in our days, appear to concur in announcing a certain catastrophe, and the experience of mankind in past ages, under resembling circumstances, testifies to us, that we ought to expect it, to reject such evidence *will be* madness, and *may be* destruction. We have no right to ask, and no reason to look for—miracles.

What were the *Romans* when they entered into their controversy with the *Carthaginians*, in comparison with the *French* at this time? Vastly—if I did not esteem the word consecrated, I should perhaps have said, *infinitely*—inferior.

The *French* have not yet been again and again, and again, and again, and again, “with the bosom of destruction,” swept off the seas. They have *some* knowledge of naval affairs; *some* ships on the ocean, *some* in the *Mediterranean*, and they have materials for building *some* more. They have *some* ships of *Spain*, and *some* of *The United Provinces*, to strengthen their fleets and squadrons. They have given *some* blows in all the four quarters of the world, and are very vigorously preparing to give *some* more.

The future ones will probably be more direct and piercing. From their whole management against their enemies it appears, that they have adopted the maxim of an experienced general of antiquity—"Strike at the head." The application has been as successful with them as it was formerly. The instances need not be mentioned.

Great-Britain strikes at the nails of *France*. What has she got by it? Some hogsheads of sugar. What more? Some bags of coffee. What has she lost? Millions of money, and myriads of men—brave men—generous men—loyal men—true men——a bad bargain.

The farce of *Corsica* is ended. *Toulon*, one of the strongest harbours known, somehow or other the *British* got. Keep it they could not, any how. Their "*protection*" is perdition. Witness its inhabitants and the coasts of *France*. Their "*alliance*" is convulsion. Witness *The United provinces*. What their "*respect*" is, the states of *Italy*, and some other states, can tell. Their fleets have been so triumphant, that most of the ports in *Europe* are shut against their commerce. More, it is likely, will be shut. *Ours*, indeed, are open to them. I acknowledge the greatness of this advantage.

Some other of their acquisitions ought to be mentioned. They have seized *The Cape of Good Hope*, parts of *Ceylon*, and the *Molucca islands*.

Of what importance are these places, as to THE SUM OF THE WAR? Absolutely of none. They are worse. They will weaken their efforts at home and near home. If they were to

make more such acquisitions, it would be still worse. They may go on victoriously in this way, till they conquer themselves—into destruction; and the successors of the ancient Gauls may well laugh, as I doubt not they do, to see their rough predecessor's maxim so whimsically reversed, from "*Væ viciis*," to "*Væ viētoribus*."

One strong grasp on *Ireland*, or any county in *Britain*, will obtain a restoration of all her acquisitions—AND MORE.

Will the *French* never make such a grasp? If the war continues a little longer, most certainly they will. They have hitherto been employed in clearing their way to the bosom of *Britain*. I dread the blows that will be struck there. Can *British* skill, great as it is, command the winds? Can *British* valor, distinguished at it is, act where it is not? How often have their fleets been locked up for weeks together by gales, at the same time fair for the operations of enemies if determined on a descent? From *Brest* to *The Dollart Sea*, the whole confronting coasts are hostile, with a variety of inflections exceedingly favourable to invasion of the opposite shores. *England* had a very strong fleet, when invaded by *William* the first; and also when invaded by *William* the third.*

* In the year 287, *Carausius* assumed in *Britain*, the imperial purple and title of *Augustus*. He extended his power over a great part of Gaul, and reigned seven years. He was succeeded by *Allectus*. The emperor *Constantius* determined to attempt

Besides, the *French* entertain a livelier resentment against *Great-Britain*, than against any of her enemies. Their exertions against her will therefore be *more* intense, if possible, than they have been against their other enemies. If they should be so, the word *more* just now used, will be found to denote something greater than an *ILIAD*.

“ *Et dubitemus ad hoc viri tute extendere vires?*
Virgil.

And doubt we yet by *virtuous* acts to rise,
When fame, when safety is the mighty
prize?

RISE! RISE! my brethren! *Punic* foes
o'ercome—

RISE! the “*lov'd allies*” of majestic ROME.

FABIUS.

the recovery of Britain. The weather was favourable to the enterprize. “ The ROMANS, under the cover of a thick fog, escaped the fleet of Allectus; and convinced the BRITONS, that a superiority of naval strength will not always protect their country from a foreign invasion.”

Gibb. Hist. 2. 106.

LETTER X.

A Consideration of high importance claims our most fixed attention—the TEMPER of the French.

The great historian who has been quoted, was an eminent philosopher and statesman. He had the best opportunities for acquiring knowledge, by living in times of the greatest action, and in habits of intimacy with the most distinguished actors.

In the second *Punic* war, the “*dire Hanibal*” was at last expelled from *Italy*, and in the fields of *Zama* the doom of the world was determined.

In the third war, *Carthage* perished to the roots.*

When *Scipio Africanus* the younger entered the principal street of the devoted city, then taken, and in flames, he held *Polybius* by the hand. The short conversation between them, it could not but be short, was pathetic in the extreme; and therefore, I hope, every reader of sensibility will excuse a recital of it.

As they advanced among the blazing houses, and the flying, falling citizens, *Scipio* with emotion repeated some lines of *Homer* describing *Troy* in the same circumstances they now saw *Carthage*—

* “*Carthago, æ mula imperii Romani, a stirpe perit.*”

Sall.

“ Yet—come it will, the day decreed by
 fates,
 “ How my heart trembles while my tongue
 relates !
 “ The day when thou, imperial TROY, shall
 bend,
 “ And see thy warriors fall, thy glories
 end—”*

Polybius asked the general why he repeated those lines in so tender a manner, in the midst

* [The remainder of this speech of Hector to Andromache, consists of these lines :—

“ And yet no dire presage so wounds my mind,
 “ My mother’s death, the ruin of my kind,
 “ Not Priam’s hoary hairs defiled with gore,
 “ Not all my brothers gasping on the score ;
 “ As thine, Andromache ! thy griefs I dread :
 “ I see thee trembling, weeping, captive led !
 “ In Argive looms our battles to design,
 “ And woes, of which so large a part was thine !
 “ To bear the victor’s hard commands, or bring
 “ The weight of waters from Hyperia’s spring.
 “ There, while you groan beneath the load of life,
 “ They cry—Behold the mighty Hector’s wife !
 “ Some haughty Greek, who lives thy tears to see,
 “ Imbitters all thy woes, by naming me.
 “ The thoughts of glory past, and present shame,
 “ A thousand griefs shall waken at the name.
 “ May I lie cold before that dreadful day,
 “ Press’d with a load of monumental clay !
 “ Thy Hector wrapt in everlasting sleep,
 “ Shall neither hear thee sigh, nor see thee weep.”

of his success against enemies? *Scipio* answered, that in viewing the destruction of *Carthage*, he contemplated the uncertainty of empire, with a foreboding apprehension, that the most prosperous, might some time or other share the same fate.

The historian being a man of business, and well acquainted with the world, his observations are drawn from life and manners, and therefore the fragments of his work are held in such universal esteem.

He tells us, that "THE ROMANS PREVAILED BY A CERTAIN INFLEXIBILITY PECULIAR TO THEMSELVES."

Have not the *French* sufficiently shewn, that they have an equal "INFLEXIBILITY?" That of the *Romans* appears to have been at times relaxed. When has that of the *French* ever been relaxed? Difficulties, distresses, defeats, varied, complicated, calling on all sides for remedy or relief, they have met with. There have been pauses in their affairs, of prognosticating continuance. What followed? Volleys of victories. Battles lost have been preludes to battles won. Retreats have been waited on by conquests. Mountains, fortifications, rivers fluent or frozen, the heats of summer, the frosts of winter, have not damped their spirits or stopped their career. There is a spring in their minds, to which weight gives energy. Their cause animates them with inextinguishable excitement. They are fighting for **FREEDOM**, and are fully persuaded, that they must crush their enemies, to

secure it. The business comes home to the heart. The public cause is every man's own cause.

“ And each contends as his were all the war.”

What a *temper* is this! that, move it any way, has the steadiness of a cube—press it any way, has the elasticity of air.

If their *perseverance* waited twelve months for a *single object*, impregnable *Luxemburgh*, which they obtained: and again has waited nearly as long for another, almost unapproachable *Mantua*, now probably in their hands too, what will not they venture, what will not they suffer, for the province of *Munster*, or the county of *Cornwall*, either of them the first step to

Their *enterprize* is equal to their *perseverance*. What other nation ever formed, and so far executed, a plan for the excision of a vast *maritime commerce*, scarcely vulnerable on water, by conquering round the coasts of the seas on which it is managed.

In short, there is no other stop to their efforts, than the entire accomplishment of their designs—for they

“ Think nothing *done*, while aught remains to *do*.”

F A B I U S.

LETTER XI.

SOME years, some little years ago, there were such things as *gratitude* and *friendship* between nations, believed in by the people of these States, and with a fervor of conviction, in ardor and assurance inferior only to a good man's religious faith, or——they were all *liars*.

They were not *liars*. They uttered what they thought. Their tongues were the interpreters of their souls. He who never erred has told us, that “of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh,” and surely there was an “*abundance*,” for our mouths to speak from.

How uncertain, at least how remote, must have been the issue of our war with *Great-Britain*—what an accumulation of distresses upon those we were enduring, must we have suffered, if it had not been for the aids we received from *France*? Let us endeavour as well as we can, to recollect what we have seen, heard, and felt, and to convey our experience to our children.

How did the nation *most solemnly* express their sentiments by their Representatives in Congress?

“The treaties between his most Christian majesty and *The United States of America*, so fully demonstrate his wisdom and magnanimity, as to command the reverence of all nations. The *VIRTUOUS* citizens of *America* CAN NEVER FORGET his beneficent attention to their violated rights, NOR CEASE TO ACKNOWLEDGE

THE HAND OF A GRACIOUS PROVIDENCE in raising them up so powerful and illustrious a FRIEND.

—“*This assembly are convinced*—that had it rested solely with the most Christian King, not only the *independence* of these states would have been universally acknowledged, but their *tranquility* fully established”—“We ardently wish to sheathe the sword, and *spare the further effusion of blood*”—Congress have reason to believe, that THE ASSISTANCE SO WISELY AND GENEROUSLY SENT WILL BRING Great-Britain to a sense of justice and moderation, promote the *interests of France and America*, and secure *peace and tranquility*, on the most firm and honourable foundation. Neither can it be doubted, that those who administer the powers of government, within the several states of this union, will cement that connection with THE SUBJECTS OF FRANCE, the beneficent effects of which have already been so sensibly felt.*

“ You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes; you have by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity: you have persevered till these United States, AIDED BY A MAGNANIMOUS KING AND NATION,

* *Journals of Congress*, August 6th, 1778.

have been enabled, UNDER A JUST PROVIDENCE, to close the war in *freedom, safety, and independence.**

“ If other motives than that of *justice* could be requisite on this occasion, NO NATION COULD EVER FEEL STRONGER ; for to whom are the debts to be paid ?

“ To AN ALLY, in the first place, who to THE EXERTION OF HIS ARMS in support of our cause, has added THE SUCCOURS OF HIS TREASURES, who to his IMPORTANT LOANS has added LIBERAL DONATIONS ; and *whose loans themselves carry the impression of his magnanimity* “ and FRIENDSHIP.”—

“ If justice, good faith, honour, gratitude, and all the other qualities which ennoble the character of a nation, and fulfil the ends of government, be the fruits of our establishments, the cause of liberty will acquire a dignity and lustre which it has never yet enjoyed ; and an example will be set which cannot but have the most favourable influence on the rights of mankind. If, on the other side, our government should be UNFORTUNATELY blotted with the reverse of these cardinal and essential VIRTUES, the great cause which we have engaged to vindicate, will be dishonored and betrayed ; the last and fairest experiment IN FAVOR OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE, will be

* *Journals of Congress*, Dec. 23d, 1783.

turned against them, and THEIR PATRONS AND FRIENDS, exposed to be INSULTED and silenced by the votaries of tyranny and usurpation.”*

How base spirited, how contemptible must our Representatives in Congress have been, had they not expressed such sentiments with respect to THE FRENCH NATION AND THEIR CHIEF MAGISTRATE, as they did ?

They knew, that his conduct towards us deserved “ THE REVERENCE OF ALL NATIONS,” their well chosen phrase ; for the sincerity, good-nature, liberality, generosity, and magnanimity therein displayed, stand, I believe, unequalled in any instance of negotiation which the ample repositories of diplomatic literature can furnish.

Truth has been cunningly disguised by a laboured compilation, intended to deceive and irritate the citizens of these states, as if a meritorious vigilance had been happily exerted to explore in a number of political transactions, the base and artful motives that lay lurking, under a pretended friendship on his part towards these states.

The real fact is, that at the very beginning of our acquaintance with him, which he so diligently cultivated till it ripened into a friendship bearing a profusion of the richest fruits, he came forward boldly, like an HONEST MAN, and TOLD US PLAINLY, that *the interest of France*, as well as of these states, induced him to enter into an alliance with us.

* *Journals of Congress*, April 26th, 1783.

" On the 16th day of December, 1777, the commissioners of Congress were informed by Mr. Girard, one of the secretaries of the King's Council of State, that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of *The United States*, and to make a treaty with them. That in the treaty *no advantage would be taken of* their situation to obtain terms which otherwise, it would not be convenient for them to agree to. That His Most Christian Majesty desired the treaty once made should be *durable*, and **THEIR AMITY TO CONTINUE FOR EVER**, which could not be expected if *EACH NATION did not find an interest in its continuance*, as well as in its commencement. It was therefore intended, that the terms of the treaty should be such as *the new formed States* would be willing to agree to if they had been long since established, and *in the fulness of strength and power*; and such as they should approve of when that time should come. That His Most Christian Majesty was fixed in his determination not only to *acknowledge*, but to *support* their *independence*. That in doing this he might probably soon be engaged in a war, yet **HE SHOULD NOT EXPECT ANY COMPENSATION** from the United States on that account. **NOR WAS IT PRETENDED THAT HE ACTED WHOLLY FOR THEIR SAKES**; since besides his real good will to them, **IT WAS MANIFESTLY THE INTEREST OF FRANCE**, that the power of *England* should be diminished by the separation of the colonies from its government. That the *only condition* he should require and rely on would be, that

The United States in no peace to be made, should give up their *independence*, and return to the *obedience* of the *British* government.”*

On the thirtieth day of *January*, 1778, the king appointed and commissioned the Sieur *Girard* his plenipotentiary, and on the sixth day of the next month, the treaties of alliance and of amity and commerce were signed.

On the sixth day of *August*, 1778, the Sieur *Girard* was introduced to an audience and delivered to the president of congress a letter from His Most Christian Majesty, directed,

“ To our very dear great friends and allies, the president and members of the general congress of *The United States of North America* :

“ Very dear friends and great allies : The treaties which we have signed with you, *in consequence of the proposals your commissioners made to us in your behalf*, are a certain assurance of our affection for *The United States* in general, and for each of them in particular, as well as the interest *we take and constantly shall take* in their happiness and prosperity. It is to convince you more particularly of this, that we have nominated the Sieur *Girard*, secretary of our council of state, to reside among you in quality of minister plenipotentiary. He is the better acquainted with our sentiments towards you, and the more capable of testifying the same to you, as he was entrusted on our part to negotiate with

* *The History of the American Revolution*, vol. II. page 63, by David Ramsay, M. D. the *Polybius of America*.

your commissioners, and signed with them *the treaties which cement our union*. I pray you will give all credit to all he shall communicate to you from us, more especially when he shall assure you of our affection and constant friendship for you. We pray GOD, very dear great friends, to have you in his holy keeping.

Your good friend and ally,
LOUIS.

Versailles, the 28th of March, 1778.

Gravier de Vergennes."

The minister was then announced to the house: whereupon he arose and addressed congress in a speech, which when he had finished, his secretary delivered in writing to the president, and is as follows:

" Gentlemen,

" The connection formed by the king my master, with *The United States of America*, is so agreeable to him, that he could no longer delay fending me to reside among you, for the purpose of cementing it. It will give his majesty great satisfaction to learn, that the *sentiments which have shone forth on this occasion*, justify that confidence with which he hath been inspired by the zeal and character of the commissioners of *The United States in France*, the wisdom and fortitude which have directed the resolutions of congress, and the courage and perseverance of the people they represent; a confidence which you know, gentlemen, has been the basis of *that amicable and truly disinterested system*, on which he had treated with *The United States*.

“ It is not his majesty’s fault, that the engagements he hath entered into did not establish *your independence and repose*, without the further effusion of blood, and without aggravating the calamities of mankind, whose happiness it is his highest ambition to promote and secure, but since the hostile measures and designs of the common enemy have given to engagements, purely eventual, an immediate, positive, permanent, and indissoluble force, it is the opinion of the king my master, that the allies should turn their whole attention to fulfil those engagements in the manner most useful to the common cause, and best calculated to obtain that peace which is the object of the alliance. It is upon this principle, gentlemen, that his majesty has hastened to send you a *powerful assistance*, which you owe only to his friendship, to the sincere regard he has for every thing which relates to the advantage of *The United States*, and the desire of contributing WITH EFFICACY to establish *your repose and prosperity* upon an honorable and solid foundation: And further, it is his expectation, that the principles which may be adopted by the respective governments will tend to strengthen those bonds of union, which have originated in **THE MUTUAL INTEREST OF THE TWO NATIONS.** The principal object of my instructions is, to cement the interests of *France* with those of the *United States*.

“ I flatter myself, gentlemen, that my past conduct in the affairs which concern them, hath already convinced you of the determination I

feel, to endeavour to obey my instructions in such manner, as to deserve the confidence of congress, the friendship of its members, and the esteem of the citizens of *America*."

(Signed)

GIRARD.

To which the president returned the following answer :

SIR,

The treaties between his most Christian majesty and *The United States of America*, so fully demonstrate his wisdom and magnanimity, *as to command the reverence of all nations*. The *virtuous* citizens of *America* in particular, *can never forget* his beneficent attention to their violated rights, *nor cease to acknowledge the hand of A GRACIOUS PROVIDENCE in raising them up so powerful and illustrious A FRIEND*. It is the hope and opinion of congress, that the confidence his majesty reposes in the firmness of these states, will receive additional strength from every day's experience.

This assembly are convinced, sir, that had it rested solely with the most Christian king, not only the independence of these states would have been universally acknowledged, but their tranquility established. We lament that lust of domination which gave birth to the present war, and hath prolonged and extended the miseries of mankind. We ardently wish to sheathe the sword, and *spare the further effusion of human blood*; but we are determined by every means in our power, to fulfil those eventual engage-

ments which have acquired positive and permanent force from the hostile designs and measures of the common enemy.

Congress have reason to believe, that the assistance so wisely and generously sent WILL BRING Great-Britain to a sense of justice and moderation, promote the interests of France and America, and secure peace and tranquility on the most firm and honourable foundations. Neither can it be doubted that those who administer the powers of government, within the several states of this union, will cement that connection with the subjects of France, the beneficial effects of which have been already so essentially felt.

SIR,

From the experience we have had of your exertions to PROMOTE THE TRUE INTERESTS OF OUR COUNTRY AS WELL AS YOUR OWN, it is with the highest satisfaction congress receives as the first minister from his most Christian majesty, a gentleman whose past conduct affords a happy presage, that he merits the confidence of this body, the friendship of its members, and the esteem of the citizens of *America*.

F A B I U S.

LETTER XII.

FRENCHMEN fought, bled, and died for us.

“ So they did,” it is said, “ but their monarch bade them fight, bleed, and die for us, and they were obliged to do so, and all our gratitude and friendship, if there was any gratitude or friendship in the case, was due to him alone.”

Generous distinction ! We are to have no consideration whatever for those men, nor for their posterity, nor for their country, because they performed what *they* thought to be *their* duty, and what *we* felt and still feel to be *our* happiness.

How far was our gratitude or friendship to carry us ? Did it extend to *the heirs of the king* ? “ Yes, if there was any due to him ; because *he* was our benefactor.” Futile evasion ! Too pretending, to have any honest meaning ! Why not then to *his people* ? Ought *they* not to have been as dear to *him*, ought *they* not to be as dear to *us* as his children ? *He* was a *Frenchman*—and under the supreme sovereignty of infinite goodness, wisdom, and power, in his transactions with us, the *constitutional* agent for and representative of all the people of *France*. He was known to *us*, he was connected with *us*, as the *ruler of that people*, not as the *father of children*. What was he without them ? They gave him his power, his abilities and inclinations to aid us, *were all*

French His abilities, it is evident to the hastiest observation, were so. His inclinations too, were all *French*; not merely as the inclination of an individual or *part* of that nation: but, because they arose from that combination of circumstances, that actuating complexity of thoughts, manners, customs, and state of things, whose social operation pervaded the nation, and in which he by the laws of nature partook.

His counsellors were *Frenchmen*. Those who were continually about him, were *Frenchmen*. He was not a solitary being estranged from all the influences of such a situation. No! We have had affecting proofs, that he was a man of sensibility, sound sense, and much useful information.*

The *French* loved liberty, when they did not enjoy it. They never forgot, that their ancestors were free, and were cheated out of their freedom; or that their very name attested their imprescriptible rights. Unhappy *Louis*! to perish at their renovation.

* Volumes have been written to stigmatize the character of the late king and queen of France.—The charges, tho' formally made, have not been proved: and when we consider, with what art, and with what designs so many scandalous reports were propagated against Louis the XVI. and his consort—and who were the persons most industrious, and most interested as they supposed, in the effects expected to be derived from the unpopularity of the King and Queen, there is no reason for our believing, that truth has been regarded in these reproaches. The infamy of accusers, is a vindication.

“ We cannot recal him from the impassable boura of his abode, to rejoice with his country in their prosperity, or to render us any further kindnesses : but, supposing him living, dethroned, and permitted to address these States, have we not reason to believe, that something like this would be his language ?

“ *Very great dear friends,*

In the course of events, over which Divine Providence presides, I no longer govern the *French*. The sovereignty is exercised immediately by themselves. The form of government is changed. *The nation is the same.* They are the people *FOR WHOSE BENEFIT*, as I CANDIDLY informed you, I entered into treaties with you, of alliance, and of amity and commerce. A pursuit of *their* happiness justified me to myself, in exposing them to the evils of war, and left me at liberty to gratify “ *my real good will*” to you.

I was persuaded, that our united efforts would bring the war to such a termination, as would compensate for its evils, and that a perfect amity between the two allied nations, would be productive of distinguished blessings to both of them.

We succeeded.

If you think, that the assistance you received from *France*, enabled you to close the war on an honorable and firm foundation, in freedom, safety, and independence,”* and if on that account you regard me with sentiments of gratitude and friendship, as I am convinced by your warm

* Expressions used by Congress.

and repeated declarations you do, I cannot doubt your compliance with the last request I shall ever make to you, dictated as it is in a great degree, by my unabated esteem for you, an inclination of which the indulgence has always brought me the sincerest pleasure.

My request is, that you may wholly transfer from me a citizen of *France* to that people who empowered me to render you essential services, all the sentiments of gratitude and friendship which you feel for me. Those sentiments have been attached to my person, by the station I held from them, a station at the most according to the laws of nature but of short duration, by their distresses, by their treasures, and by their blood. *Place the sentiments where they are most justly due.* If you love me, love those whom I love, and for whose "sake" I first loved you. *That will be the best evidence you can give of your affection for me.*

As weighty considerations as prompted the alliance, recommend its continuance. It is as manifest to me now, as it was at the beginning of our correspondence, that the reciprocation of benefits will be incomputable, increasing, and never can be obstructed, unless one party should seek to advance itself at the expence of the other, which is not to be expected."

If these were the sentiments of this good prince towards the conclusion of his life, how much was he deceived?

It was his doom to live, not only in an age of revolutions in government, but also of revolutions in morality:

Scarcely was his head laid low in the dust, probably in consequence of our liberty being established, scarcely were those lips closed in eternal silence, which never spoke to us but in the language of benediction, scarcely was that existence, to which, after virtue and piety fair fame was dearest, dissolved, and disabled to vindicate an aspersed reputation, than—a severe scrutiny was made into his unseptered merits, and it was discovered—by *Americans*—Yes—by *Americans*—that *he himself* was not entitled to *our* gratitude or friendship, but was a selfish unprincipled villain.

Much injured *Louis*!

The charges of thy accusers *undesignedly* erect a lasting monument to thy glory. They have proved thee guilty—of sincerely loving thy people. Thy feet were led into unbeaten, unexplored tracts of policy, and thou hadst not been accustomed to its intricate mazes. Impelled by thy benevolence towards us, a young, innocent, oppressed, and unexperienced people, struggling in blood, and hardly able to struggle, though the prize was no less than PEACE, LIBERTY AND SAFETY, against the then most formidable nation in the world, and by thy tender affection for *France* recently weakened by deep wounds received from the same enemy, thou formedst the kind and generous resolution to help us AT OUR UTMOST NEED, though the execution of thy noble design would exhibit to mankind, the surprizing spectacle of—a *Republic* fostered by a *Monarchy*—and in a portion of the globe far remote from

thy kingdom—and in the neighbourhood of thy most valuable foreign dominions—And thou didst help us “*effectually*” till every man among us “from one end of our land to the other, and from one side of our land to the other,” “DWELT CONFIDENTLY,” with his family, “under his vine and under his fruit tree,” and ALLIED with thee and thy people, there was “NONE TO MAKE US AFRAID.”

But, in directing the course of thy exertions through an unknown wilderness, dangers might start up on every side. Thy accusers have convicted thee, of being more anxious for the welfare of thy people, than for that of strangers— Yet—Heaven and earth are witnesses, that to thee, to thee, under “*a gracious Providence which raised thee up to be our friend,*”* “*We the people of the United States*” stand indebted for the best of blessings—*Liberty.*

“ Manibus date *Lilia* plenis :
 “ Purpureos spargam, flores, animamque” *Amici*
 “ His saltem adcumulem donis, et fungar inani
 “ Munere—

Bring LILIES—LILIES in whole handfuls bring
 With all the purple fragrance of the spring ;
 These unavailing gifts let me bestow :
 ’Tis all I can—on thy dear shade below.—

F A B I U S.

* *Words of Congress.*

LETTER XIII.

IT is asserted among us, that no *gratitude* is due to men, and there is no *friendship* in them for us, if in their conduct towards us however *kind* and *beneficial*, they are influenced by a regard for their own interests.

This proposition demands our attention, especially as it is industriously propagated, in order to produce a revulsion of the public sentiment from particular objects, which we have been accustomed to view in another light, and that revulsion is intended to bring on consequences, in which the welfare of these states must be deeply concerned.

In the constitution which our maker has assigned to man, two dispositions are observable; *love of self*, and *social affection*. They are compatible, innocently, virtuously, advantageously compatible, or they would not have been “joined together.” Their union is the means to good ends.

It is not necessary here to controvert the opinion of a celebrated author, that no ideas are innate, though he argues with a weakness exceedingly surprising in so great a man, when he embarrasses questions respecting a general *faculty* by deductions from particular *incapacities*, a scheme as indefensible as his frame of government for *Carolina*.*

* The famous Grecian philosopher was more accurate when he distinguished between the qualities of capacity and completion.

It is sufficient if there are *natural propensities** in man to good. These may perhaps not improperly be called *the seeds* of good. But as the planted seeds of vegetables, require sunshine, air, rain, and cultivation, to bring them to the perfection of which they are capable, so the seeds in the mind require, if the expression is allowable, sunshine, air, rain, and cultivation, suitable for bringing *them* to the perfection of which they are capable. Thus it is as to *reason*, an undisputed faculty of human nature, though all individuals do not partake of it; and in those who do, what gradations! from a *Tongtisan*, scraping his scanty utensils and worshipping fetishes made of shreds, to a *Newton*, weighing the planets, explaining the

As referring to the human mind, capacity is the faculty of reasoning, and completion is the act of reasoning.

It has not been thought requisite to pursue the elaborate investigation of those who contend, that self-love and social affection are not implanted in our nature, but are gradually formed in us by communication with others, since it is evident that men are so made and so placed in creation, that these dispositions by fixed laws necessarily and naturally grow up from their make and situation.

For upon this hypothesis, it is manifestly the good pleasure of our Creator, that these salutary and beneficial dispositions should exist in his creatures of mankind.

* *Locke's Essay on human understanding. Book I. chap. iii. § 3. 12. chap. iv. § 11.*

principles by which the material universe is sustained, and the motion of its ponderous orbs determined, and proving the existence of Deity, from the wonders of his works.*

How feeble the outset of reason, how diversified its progress, how almost-boundless its advancement! Wing'd by diligence and hope, it springs from earth, awhile surveys its precious objects, then soars to the utmost verge of our system, there sums its powers, aspires into space, bends its course among innumerable suns and worlds, discerns *immensity*, breathes of *eternity*, and struck into the deepest humility, prostrates itself before the footstool of his throne to whom they both belong.

This globe of ours therefore is a *speck* in creation. *Self* is a *speck* upon this globe.

The well-prepared mind rises through the sensibilities † of kindred, to those

* *Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Dr. Bentley.*

† *Private and public affections are so resembling, that their origin appears to be the same.*

Private affections are sources of happiness. Our own feelings convince us of this delightful truth. The enjoyment teaches us, to estimate and venerate the like happiness in others, and to desire its increase. The heart is softened, improved, and expanded by this exercise. Universal benevolence seems to grow naturally from such sensations.

We know not the extent or duration of the happiness we may produce, by one act of kindness to a fellow-creature; neither can we compute the misery we may cause by a single injury. How much ought

of friendship, neighbourhood, acquaintance, and country, all of them related, luminous, and delightful. Untired and unsatisfied it travels on. Other associations *still variously recommended*, present themselves. Something is yet wanting: It proceeds. It approaches its designated dignity, and at length recognizes its *relation to mankind*, through a COMMON PARENT of infinite perfections, who beholds them all with impartial love. The mind can seek no more. Filled with truth, it adores the goodness that designed this *system of affections*, and hastens to perform the parts allotted to it in the arrangement.

In our attention to this plan, we may perceive, that earthly things move on heavenly principles. Virtue essentially and in its nature has a ten-

we to dread the slightest deviation from our Saviour's unequalled rule—“AS YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO YE ALSO TO THEM LIKEWISE.

Private affections *may generate* universal benevolence, and universal benevolence *may advance* the happiness derived from private affections; but, certainly *is never in opposition to them*. It is a kindred affection of the great family of love.

The precepts of the Christian religion relating to social virtues, are continually employed in the elucidation, establishment, recommendation, and enforcement of THIS MOST IMPORTANT TRUTH.

Plato, on the contrary, in order to produce general affections, deemed it necessary utterly to extinguish private affections. His project of bringing up children at the public expence, and never permit-

ey to produce a happiness : Vice on the contrary, essentially and in its nature has a tendency to produce misery. It follows, that all virtue is wisdom, and all vice is folly.

There is therefore in the divine gifts no *hostility* to good. *Evil* proceeds from the neglect or abuse of them. How the neglect or abuse of them in some cases is to be accounted for, is a point not pertinent to the present discussion. Any sincere enquirer after truth may find sufficient reasons,

“ To justify the ways of God to man.”

Neither is there any *discordance* between the divine gifts. But, if men will neglect or abuse them, or if they will attempt with a false philosophy to set them at variance, they must gather such fruits as such a culture of their *reason* yields them.

There is a harmony then in the several *DISPOSITIONS* which our Creator has given to our nature, and our happiness arises from the combination of these varieties. Each may be indulged not only innocently, but meritoriously. It is not only the right, but the duty of men, to pursue their own happiness. Right involves a duty. They grossly err, if they suppose they can obtain it, by disregarding the happiness of others. *Self love* and *social* are as intimately united as colours in a ray of light.

ting them to know their nearest relations, would have been an education of ENEMIES TO THE HUMAN RACE.

The ray without one of them would be imperfect. The due regulation of them, is the perfection of man's character. He may not at once attain it; but he may, if he will. By faithful attention, inferior considerations will be made to give way to superior; and if he is not a phlegmatic splitter of a thought or a cold dissector of a sensation,* love for himself and others will be so blended in his mind, that he will not wish to separate them, and perhaps cannot. When the edifice of moral improvement is thus far completed, the man becomes as different from some others, if not from what he himself once was, as the best houses among us are from the huts of our poor Indians.

We have bodies and minds. Our rights and duties, desires and aversions, affections and passions are all true to *us*, if we will but be true to *them*. Pleasures and pains are held out to us in this life by the constitution of our nature, as motives to right behaviour. Rewards and punishments in another life, are also held out to us expressly by divine authority, for the same purpose. Here is a double provision addressed

* The word "Sensation" is here used in Montesquieu's sense. "Virtue in a Republic is a most simple thing; it is a love for the Republic; it is a sensation, and not a consequence of acquired knowledge; a sensation that may be felt by the meanest as well as by the highest person in the state."

The love of Friends and Benefactors is a sensation. It is a law of Nature. It is a Commandment from Heaven.

to our *selfishness*. For what? To direct us to virtue and happiness. Was there any wisdom or goodness in these directions? Surely. Are we blameable for being guided by them? Certainly not. If respected as they ought to be, they will gradually form in us a temper of the highest and brightest lustre.

We read of our blessed Saviour in the Scriptures, that "*for the joy that was set before him, he endured the cross.*" Dare we deny, that there was merit in his sufferings, because he expected to be rewarded? Or dare we deny, that he was our "*Friend,*" and that we are under obligations to him for them?

Where will this "*new doctrine*" concerning gratitude and friendship carry us?

'Tis true, that individuals and nations attend to their own interests, and so they ought to do: but it is as true, that they cannot wisely and effectually attend to them, unless they attend also to those of others. Human excellence and happiness depend on the union of the two dispositions. Why should maxims be introduced among us, a young people, to shake this salutary truth? Why should principles be calculated for checking, and even extirpating from our hearts, those very propensities which our Maker has planted there—benignant and noble propensities—WITHOUT THE CULTIVATION OF WHICH the world never can reap that harvest of peace and felicity, which it is destined to enjoy.

It is astonishing, that persons who seem to have a respect for religion, and therefore may

be presumed to have a detestation for the theses of some metaphysical *ballooners*, should seriously adopt one of the worst articles in their dreary and chaotic creed, which is—that “men are governed by a sordid motive, if they are influenced by a regard for their own interests:” for, what is the inference immediately drawn from the admission of this *lemma*? This—“That the *Christian Religion*, in proposing *such a motive*, is nothing more than a vile contrivance to excite the fears of men, and then to rule over them by managing their fears.”

This *abhorring imitation* is a strange jumble; an unlucky attempt to reconcile a true religion and a false policy.

According to these fortunately discovered Pandects, all the intercourses of life are to be obstructed and embittered, because GOD has made men to love themselves.

“Take care of the pernicious disposition,” say the learned expounders—“beware of the lion covered with a lamb’s fleece.” All individuals and nations regard their own interests. Terrible truth! Suspect them. As to *some particulars*, bravely shew, that you suspect them more than you do their enemies. “This conduct may bring on alienation.” No matter. “It may even bring on something worse.” Mind not that. WE NEVER CAN MISTAKE. Why should you be so unreasonable, as to trouble yourselves about your own salvation? None but the *enemies of “order and good government,” of “morality and religion,”* can be so headstrong. Avoid those *partizans of confusion*: those poli-

tical *enthusiasts*, who are always dreaming of a Heaven of Liberty, when they ought to be working upon the World for Wealth. Abominate the *disorganizers*. Confide in our *cool-blooded regularity*. Our conduct is **CONSUMMATE POLICY**; and if you *perish*, you may have the satisfaction of knowing, that you perish, “*secundum artem*: And what an *Euthanasia* must that be?”

I don't like this “*new doctrine*.” I think we had a better before. I am contented with the volume of nature, the Old Testament and the New Testament. I want no more. These last contain adequate and unparalleled maxims for the conduct of private and public life.

A man meets a stranger on business, who behaves very well in it. An acquaintance commences. The stranger recommends himself more and more. An exchange of kind offices ensues. Gratitude and friendship succeed. Does not this seem very natural? Is it not in perfect harmony with our benignant religion?

Nations are composed of human creatures. *Gratitude* and *Friendship* take place between them, in much the same manner as between individuals, *with this remarkable difference*: The friendships between nations comprehend more valuable objects, than those between individuals, such as national peace, prosperity, liberty, and safety. The happiness of individuals is involved in these national blessings. Is it reasonable then to suppose, that the grander objects will have less influence than smaller;

that is, that where the causes are greater, the effects will be less? Besides, there may be a most powerful cement between nations, by a mutuality of benefits; and this may be so constant, that the first excitement by attention to *interest*, as in other operations of the human mind, will grow up to an attachment of a higher kind, “*real good will*” towards one another. Who can deny this progression of the human mind? Who can bear to disapprove it? Who ought to discourage it? This attachment will be more speedily, and more firmly established, where the products of each nation are variant and yet peculiarly suited to the other. *Then* the citizens of each are cheerfully employed at their respective homes, in useful and agreeable labours for *themselves* and their “*friends and allies.*” This is a friendship founded on nature, promising a permanency as lasting as the distinctions between their soils and climates, and such as I am convinced the Author of Nature intended to take place among nations, when in his infinite wisdom he tho’t proper to “*separate the children of men.*”

Far different is the case, when a nation “*ploughs the waves,*” traffics over the globe, depends upon commerce for her strength and consequence, and exercising all its arts, whatever they are, offers to us the collections made by her dexterity or violence, that she may draw to herself the profits of our industry, and thus add to a power rendered by the spirit and means of its elevation, already sufficiently imperative. “*Such a nation,*” as a sagacious observer of

mankind has said, “supremely jealous as to trade, binds herself but little by treaties.*

The grants of such a nation, are manœuvres for obtaining ten fold, and it is very well for the other party if it is not ten thousand fold in return. *There is no just reciprocity in their contracts.* They exchange glass beads for gold dust and ivory.

F A B I U S.

* Montesquieu.

LETTER XIV.

ANOTHER most powerful cement between nations is—their *resemblance* of each other in forms of Government; more especially, if that resemblance is founded on the same endearing principle of *immediate derivation* from the governed, that is, from THE PEOPLE of each nation respectively. Then Man meets Man with a reciprocation of the kindest dispositions. It is private good will, operating through the character of citizenship: It is affection strengthened by communication: It is the embrace of nations—and IF THEY HAVE COMMON SENSE OR ANY LOVE OF LIBERTY, this resemblance becomes invested with irresistible authority, when it interestingly discriminates between them and monarchies of other great nations. THIS is exactly and definitely the case of FRANCE AND THESE STATES, as contrasted with THE REST OF THE WORLD.

I appeal to the feelings of every heart not stone-dead to nature, whether—for two persons or nations to be unjustly and mortally HATED—for the same cause—by others, powerful in means for gratifying their HATRED—is not a strong attraction to UNION between those two persons or nations? The proposition although political, assumes nearly the force of a mathematical demonstration: and, are we to be diverted from taking this salutary intimation, inspired by Nature herself for our preservation, this wholesome, strengthening nutriment, so suited to our

Constitutions, so cheap too, and so readily and so safely to be reached—that we may feed upon Ice-creams and Syllabubs, however delicately drugg'd or finely frothing from a dextrous hand?

Republics have always had THE HIGH HONOR OF BEING HATED BY *Monarchs*, tho' SOMETIMES COAXED BY THEM, in order to be rendered subservient to their views: and THEY NEVER WERE HATED SO MUCH AS THEY ARE NOW.* If *France* should not suc-

* *In the war of our revolution, almost all Europe favoured us. Great-Britain was thought too powerful and too haughty. Every great nation wished her humiliation. Our distant wooden commonwealth, when compared with their stone-built pyramids of power, excited not the slightest apprehension.*

THE CASE IS NOW ENTIRELY CHANGED. Since *France* has abolished regal government, and has erected herself into a Republic, there is not an emperor, king, or prince, but who detests republicanism with an enmity never to be satiated but by its total destruction. If they can execute their will, not a sucker, not the smallest twig of a root, from which the tree of liberty might grow up hereafter, will be left in the earth. The very soil will be dug up, and “sifted as corn is sifted in a sieve,” to discover and destroy all the seeds of happiness.

On the other hand, Great-Britain has given such indisputable proofs of her CONVERSION to the modern orthodoxy in “religion and morality,”

ceed in the present contest, there is not an Elective Republic on Earth, that would not be immediately annihilated. Ours would be crush'd at once—not under a *limited* Monarchy, such as we abrogated twenty years ago as intolerable, but under a *Despotism*: for the Question now try-

that she is clearly a confessor, and almost a martyr in its holy crusade.

She has so fully manifested her DEVOTION to the cause of despotism and spoliation, that the crown'd tyrants and robbers now regard her as a bold, sturdy, and ritually-conjured accomplice, that may be depended on with unlimited confidence, for the execution of any project of profitable iniquity, provided she is admitted to a share.

Let us now observe, how regularly the plan for extinguishing the light of liberty has been prosecuted.

The United Provinces, have by the arms of Great-Britain and Prussia been for some years declining into an arbitrary government.

Republican Poland was stripped of one third of her provinces, by a conspiracy between Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

No sooner did France only discover an inclination to be free, than all the great potentates roused up with their usual zeal at the lively call of their “religion and morality.”

With great cordiality it was RESOLVED, that France, then in perfect peace with all of them—and her king reigning in full possession of his power—should be severely lopped all round. The mutilated form was then to be left to their “dear brother and cousin.”

ing by combat, is—between *Republicanism* on one side, and *Despotism* on the other. ATTEND! ATTEND—with all the energies of your souls, my dear countrymen, to THIS MOMENTOUS TRUTH. The dagger of assassination is at the breast of *America*; and *France* alone holds back the hand that otherwise would strike it in—UP TO THE HILT.

The embraces of their devout and virtuous ardor, were received with congenial feelings by “The empress of all the Russias.” “Her majesty”—says the holy and tranquilizing convention—“shall take upon herself the INVASION of Poland,” &c.

The duty thus devolved upon her, this faithful friend to “Humanity, and to the tranquility and welfare of Europe,” bloodily and piously performed; and in 1794, the catastrophe of Polish liberty closed, in a PARTITION of the whole republic between Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

The further execution of the plan as it respected France, was in the mean time going on; to end, it was fondly hoped, as the horrid aggression against Poland had just done, in dismemberment and slavery.

Had this part of the plan succeeded, WE SHOULD HAVE BEEN LEFT ALONE. Then all the resentment and execrations of the triumphant tyrants would have been directed against us, as the original authors of all the calamities of Europe. What the consequence would have been, he that runs may read.

THANKS TO A GRACIOUS PROVIDENCE! that on the plains of Belgium, and the mountains of Italy, it has been decided, that—France and America shall be free.

Monarchs, without exception, think Republics reproachful to their government and dangerous to their authority. They abhor the PRINCIPLE on which they are founded; and the cause of *despotism* has been much strengthened in this century, by the *accessions* that have been made to monarchies very great before: A FACT, WORTHY OF OUR ATTENTION AND REMEMBRANCE.*

The Ancients used to compress a good deal of wisdom into short sentences. One of them was this—" *Idem velle, ac idem nolle, id de-
mum Amicitia est*"—" To agree in liking things, and to agree in disliking things, *that is* friendship."

Again I appeal to nature, to reason, and to experience. Is it not a strong band?

Let us now attend to a comment upon it: Not a comment, where truth is obscured by a cloud of words, or is so cut to pieces by sub-

* The great potentates of Europe have lately discovered such ample advantages in their attention " TO PUBLIC ORDER and GOOD GOVERN-
MENT"—to borrow their favorite expressions—by joining together to rob and subjugate their weaker neighbours, adding their territories one after another to their own, that a few years ago it did not seem likely, that any limits could be put to the MONSTROUS MASSES OF DESPOTIC POWER, which they were continually rolling up. The republics of France and these States appear to be capable of becoming by their union and wisdom, the PRO-
TECTORS of mankind, from the dangers impending over their heads.

tle distinctions, that it is difficult for persons who have not been used to such operations, to redintegrate it: but to a comment, which amounts to an *exemplification* so important and extensive, as to PROVE—what are the *genuine affections* of the human mind *on such occasions*.

Ancient *Greece* was divided into a number of States. *Athens* and *Sparta* were the great rivals for fame and power. Some of the other states were aristocratical; and some of them democratical. The government of *Sparta* was most favourable to aristocracy: that of *Athens* to democracy. In taking part in the wars between *Athens* and *Sparta*, the democratical states always sided with the former, and the aristocratical with the latter. So again, in controversies between the democratical and aristocratical parties in the same state, the other states were always inclined to one or the other, in correspondence to the conformity of their principles respectively concerning those several forms of government. When I say *always*, I mean, that these dispositions were so general, that there were no exceptions sufficient to weaken the statement. I do not remember any; but I am bound to add—that I have some faint recollection there was one, which was then thought very extraordinary.

Greece, we find, was split into democratical and aristocratical parties. These were maintained with such animosity, that neither of them ever discovered, that **MILDNESS AND MODERATION ARE LAWS OF OUR NATURE**, that is, of our Maker, which never have been

and never can be violated with impunity. To carry a point against their opponents was a triumph in which the short-fighted victors gloried. One point gained was a step to another. The weaker party enraged by repeated injuries and insults, called in foreign aid, first the *Perians*, then the *Macedonians*, and at last, the *Romans*. After innumerable calamities, the democratical fury, and the aristocratical arrogance were melted down together, into one miserable mass of common slavery. Then at last they were quiet.

Thus also there was a constant and at length an inveterate controversy between the aristocratical and the democratical parties of ancient *Rome*. Impotent of temper and blind to consequences, they persecuted each other till they were all together, by their own fatal activity, consigned to the iron domination of as detestable miscreants as ever bore the shape of man.

What is the LESSON which these examples hold out to us and to our allies, for both of us have parties resembling those that have been mentioned. If my weakness interprets rightly, it is this—that each party treat the other with justness and kindness as becomes brethren, “ forbearing one another in love,” and only, according to the apostle’s uncommon and forcible expression, “ provoking to good works.” ABOVE ALL THINGS, each party is to refrain from such measures, as will inevitably tend to irritation.

The danger to republics from monarchies, and the connection to which republics are invited

by the nature of things, have been noticed. France is safe at all events. She is fighting for us as well as for herself, and we shall be safe too, if we "know the things that belong unto our peace," and "ensue" them: And it is to be hoped, we shall escape the dreadful denunciation made to an infatuated people formerly —— "But now they are hid from thine eyes." There is yet place for prudence and security.

Let any dispassionate man deliberately consider, whether there are any natural causes at present, or even remotely tending to a collision of interests between *these States* and *France*. I am persuaded he will not find any, but, DIRECTLY THE REVERSE.* Yet the loudest notes of alarm have been founded through our land as if those interests were IRRECONCILEABLE, and that our best welfare consisted in an utter estrangement.

It is not my intention now to treat of the disgusts between us and *France*. They are not the natural products of either country; but political briars and thorns, the seeds of which have been imported, and strange as it is, have been raised at a great expence—in hot-houses.

Whatever blame may be cast on the *French Nation*, on our side provoking acts have been

*After other far superior considerations, may it not be worth while to enquire—Whether France does not consume more of the fruits of our soil than any other nation? And also—whether she does not supply the only foreign raw material of extensive use in these States.

committed. To acknowledge them would be noble. Some deem it more noble, if it is possible, to conceal them. They are therefore to be hid under invectives and resentments against *France*. For this purpose so many are straining their faculties and their voices: for, many are implicated. This circumstance engages their friends and adherents. Nor are there wanting excitements of another kind to heighten the clamor. If the remembrance of errors cannot otherwise be obliterated, let it be confounded among the tempestuous tumults of hostilities. If *France* can be flyly irritated into a declaration of war against us, or if we can be artfully wrought up to a proper degree of madness, and follow into a war those guides who have long since lost their way, *their* point is gained. Then *error* becomes *wisdom*, and *mischief* is dubbed *patriotism*.*

A friendly individual or a friendly nation may be of a warm temper. Slighter things from a supposed friend, will provoke more quickly and deeply than from another. In such cases, *consciousness of good will*, especially in seasons of

* “ *If we are to judge by reason alone, it is the interest of a minister, conscious of mismanagement, that there should be a war; because by a war, the eyes of the public are diverted from examining into his conduct: nor is he accountable for the bad success of a war, as he is for that of an administration.*”

Speech of Sir Robert Walpole in Parliament.

Tind. cont. of Rapin’s *Hist.* 20. 37.

great and perturbating distress, will feel more keenly any appearance of unkindness. The friend is not to be lost, because he is hasty, or in the heat of combat for every thing dear to him,* through suspicion of our expected affection, even injurious. An old proverb says—"The falling out of lovers is the renewal of love." We certainly have been "Lovers," and if we are fallen out, let us make the experiment of reconciliation. The consequences will affect not only us, but our children, and the children of our children, and their children, to the latest generations. We carry on our shoulders the fame and fate of our nation.†

* "Res dura, et regni novitas metalia cogunt
" Moliri, et late fines custode tueri—

Virgil.

" Against my will—my fate
" Surrounding dangers and an Infant State
" Bid me defend myself with all my powers,
" And guard with these severities my shores."

† When Pericles, one of the greatest men Greece ever produced, was dissuading Tolmidas a rash man flushed with former successes, from attacking the Boeotians, among other things which he said, he used this "memorable" expression, as Plutarch calls it—" If thou wilt not take the advice of Pericles, wait for the advice of TIME, who is the wisest of all counsellors."

TOLMIDAS would take the advice of neither; but was defeated, and killed with a multitude of the principal citizens. " Then Pericles's advice gain-

It is a mournful but instructive study, to read the history of mankind. There we see their follies and their vices depicted at full length, accompanied by their miserable attendants. The prominent feature is an aptitude to plunge into wars—

“ For man too haughty in a prosperous state
“ Is blind, and heedless to his future fate.”

A child may set fire to a house, but a whole city may not be able to prevent the conflagration from levelling the buildings in every street to the ground. “ Ruunt omnes in sanguinem suum populi—obstinatèque feritatis poenas nunc sponte persolvunt”—“ ALL NATIONS RUSH FORWARD TO THE EFFUSION OF THEIR OWN BLOOD, AND VOLUNTARILY PAY THE PENALTIES OF THEIR OBSTINATE FIERCENESS.”*

It is an observation of antiquity, that—they are *happy*, who grow *wise* by the misfortunes of *others*. This direction has been too little respected; and men generally chuse “ to grow

ed him a high regard, together with great love and kindness from the people of Athens, who looked upon him as a wise man, and a lover of his country.”

Plutarch’s Life of Pericles.

* “ Panègyr. Vet. Mamertinus illustrates the fact, by the example of almost all the nations of the world.”

Gibb. *Hist.* ii. 108.

wise by their own misfortunes." But, as truth is never the worse for being long neglected, I hope and trust, that my beloved countrymen will exert the good sense they eminently possess, and stand upon the guard of PRUDENCE and AFFECTION for THEMSELVES and their POSTERITY.

FABIUS.

LETTER XV.

IN the year 1728, the depredations of the Spaniards on the British commerce in the European and American seas, had been for a long time flagrant, extensive, cruel, and reproachful. The British nation was highly provoked.

The committee appointed by the House of Commons upon these depredations, after hearing all proper evidence, came on the fourteenth of March, to the following resolution, which being reported was agreed to by the house—

“ That from the peace concluded at *Utrecht* in 1713, to this time, the British trade and navigation to and from the several British colonies in *America*, has been greatly interrupted by continual depredations from the Spaniards, who have seized very valuable effects, and have unjustly taken and made prize of great numbers of British ships and vessels in those parts, to the great loss and damage of the subjects of this kingdom, and in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns.*

The house then came to an unanimous resolution, that an address should be presented to the king, “desiring him to use his utmost endeavours, for preventing such depredations, procuring just and reasonable satisfaction for the losses sustained, and securing the free exercise of commerce and navigation.”

*. Tindal's *Cont. of Rapin's Hist. of England*,
20 38.

Not long after, the business was taken up again. “The minister did not refuse to his enemies in the house, any paper they could call for, relating to the affairs between *Great-Eritain* and *Spain*, and the numbers they demanded were very great, and the time they took up in reading, very long. At last, the grand committee, who continued most assiduously to sit, upon the consideration of the complaints against the *Spanish* depredations, after long debates, resolved—“That several ships, merchandizes, and effects, belonging to the merchants of this kingdom, trading to *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy*, have been taken and seized by the *Spaniards*, in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, for which no restitution has yet been made; and that the masters and crews of several of the said ships have been *barbarously* and *inhumanly* treated.”* An address similar to the former was voted and presented.

In 1729, the famous treaty of *Seville* was made. By the first article, all former treaties and conventions were confirmed. By the second, the two kings guaranteed each others dominions. By the third, all engagements by the treaty of *Vienna*, prejudicial to the treaties between the two crowns, antecedent to the year 1725, in which the treaty of *Vienna* was made, were annulled. By the fourth, commerce was to be restored to its former sooting, and orders were to be instantly dispatched on all

* *Tind Cont.* 20. 41.

sides for that purpose. By the fifth, the Catholic king obliged himself to make reparation for all damages that had been done by his subjects. By the sixth, commissioners were to be appointed on each part, to assemble at the court of *Spain*, to examine and decide concerning ships and effects taken at sea, to the time specified in the preceding article—also, the respective pretensions relating to abuses supposed to be committed, whether with respect to limits, or otherwise—and to make report which should be executed. By the seventh, commissioners were to be appointed for deciding all differences. By the eighth, the time for the several commissioners finishing their commissions, is limited to three years. The ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth contained regulations, which it is needless to mention.*

However, the depredations still went on. In 1730, parliament was daily receiving petitions, complaining of them. The commissioners appointed by the king, in consequence of the treaty of *Seville*, had not been able to prevail on the court of *Madrid*, to name commissioners on the part of *Spain*, so that not the smallest progress was made in obtaining satisfaction for *British* subjects, and fresh complaints were constantly coming in. Every petition added new matter for railing against the minister, Sir *Robert Walpole*, afterwards earl of *Orford*, for not declaring war, or at least issuing orders for

* *Tind. Cont.* 20, 51.

reprisals. No man was ever more abused. He was represented as a fool, a coward, a villain, and a traitor. The nation was raging for a war.

The minister endeavoured to avoid it, and persevered in his attempts to settle the matters in variance, by negociation, being well assured, that this mode of proceeding would be much better for *Great-Britain*, than a war. A very great majority of the house of commons agreed with him in sentiment. It was accordingly resolved, that an address should be presented to the king, "desiring him to *continue* his endeavours to prevent depredations, to procure satisfaction, and to secure trade and navigation." The address was presented.*

In succeeding years the depredations continued. Various resolutions were adopted in parliament, and several measures proposed for relief.

In the course of the enquiries concerning these depredations from their commencement, it appeared, that many vessels trading fairly, with very valuable cargoes, and unquestionably entitled to protection under the law of nations, and existing treaties, were taken and confiscated, and frequently with a mockery of justice, exhibiting the greatest contempt. The masters and mariners were treated with the utmost inhumanity and indignity. Their personal sufferings by loathsome imprisonment, or condemnation to hard labour, unwholesome food, iron

* Tind. *Cont.* 20, 95—20, 372.

fetters, and other atrocities, were enormous. One calamity they escaped—they were not compelled to fight against their countrymen or allies.

In 1738, the house of commons, in an address to the king, used this strong language—“ That before and since the execution of the treaty of *Seville*, and the declaration made by the crown of Spain, pursuant thereto, for the satisfaction and security of the commerce of *Great-Britain*, many unjust seizures and captures have been made, and great depredations committed by the *Spaniards*, which have been attended with many instances of *unheard of cruelty and barbarity*.”

The minister was a man of spirit, and also of deliberation, qualities not often enough united. He was neither daring nor timid. His comprehensive and informed genius gave him an elevation, from which, with enlightened serenity, he looked down upon the world of circumstances, and presided over conjunctures. He firmly adhered to his system of peace and negociation.* He weighed and balanced things in his mind. He judged, that much respect was to be paid, to what would be thought

* This great minister was advised by some of his friends, to tax the British colonies in America. He had the wisdom and generosity to reject that advice, observing that Great-Britain obtained sufficient advantages from their commerce. Such advice was pursued some years afterwards, and the consequences are well known.

ABROAD, and that some regard was due even to the prejudices and mistakes of a power, whose friendship was essential to the welfare of his country : and *from some peculiarities in the state of European affairs*, he did not despair of accomplishing his purpose, unless it was defeated by her passions, so much to her benefit, that those who then blamed him, would afterwards approve his conduct.

After some time, preliminaries were signed as the basis of a treaty of accommodation. In consequence of these a convention was made. The court of *Spain* behaved improperly ; and as her demands amounted to a claim of *perpetual right* to make seizures and captures *in time of peace*, on the same pretences that she had before acted upon, the nation was so inflamed, that in 1739, war began. In 1748, it ended, **WITHOUT THE LEAST COMPENSATION WHATEVER BEING OBTAINED** in the treaty of peace, for any of the PROPERTY the *Spaniards* had unjustly seized, or for any of the EXCESSES they had committed. War is a great burier.

Let us attend to what some years afterwards, calm and impartial *British* history says upon the subject.

“ The main question for which the war was originally entered into, which was the commercial disputes between *Spain* and *Great-Britain* in the *West-Indies*, seemed to have been dropped, and mentioned in the treaty only for form sake, while each of those nations, though mutually weakened, found themselves in the

very same condition they were in before the war. THE SOBER, SENSIBLE PART OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, BEGAN NOW TO SPEAK WITH REVERENCE OF THE EARL OF ORFORD'S PACIFIC ADMINISTRATION, AND THOSE WHO HAD BEEN HIS GREATEST ENEMIES, SEEMED AT A LOSS TO ACCOUNT FOR THE REASONS, WHY THE WAR HAD BEEN ENTERED INTO.”*

What has been, now is, and in succeeding ages will be the character of that man, with all persons who are capable of forming a judgment of it? *Chatham*, who had been one of his most violent opponents, lived to discern, and generously to acknowledge his superior merit. The excellent *Johnson* styled him “a star of the first magnitude;” and it is apprehended, that it will be generally agreed, that he was one of the wisest ministers that *his own country*, or any other ever had.

Look at *Britain* now; and see to what a condition she is brought, by being committed to the disposal of ministers of a different character.

In defiance of all dissuading considerations, in contempt of all energetic reclamations, her rulers courted a rupture with *France*. They obtained it. What with it? In *Europe* and *America*, the destruction of her brave soldiers and sailors, by sword and pestilence—In *Africa*, the ruin of her settlements—In *Asia*, her *Indian empire* tottering—assuredly to fall—Her bank,

*Tind. *Cont.* 21, 373, 374,

the sanctuary for silver and for gold, shut—Distrust palsying her exertions—Confusion catching her affairs from one to another, as a contagion—her enemy “running upon her like a giant”—and

“*Britain, ocean’s trident-bearing queen.*”

BRITAIN herself in imminent danger of invasion.

It seems as if some sin had been working at the root of her full-blown prosperity, for about a quarter of a century. Let us reflect.

We read in a book well worth reading, of “the iniquity of a people being *full*,” and then of punishment coming.

At the period alluded to, *Britain*, not innocent in other respects, as weeping nations have felt, then “put forth a hand” and profanely touched *the ark of liberty*. She drew it back wounded and withered. Not long afterwards, *the friend of mankind* appeared within sight of her shores. Uninstructed by her “*own misfortunes*,” again she precipitated herself into the same violation of duty; unprovoked, quarrelled with a people imitating the example of her better days, resolved to be free, and even supplicating her neutrality, when her compliance with the equitable request, would have penetrated *France* with gratitude, and in all probability have saved the family for which she pretended to arm. She in her turn has supplicated, as vainly.

If it be consistent with the providential government of the world, that another instance of divine displeasure against national abuses of manifold and vast blessings be not, for a warning to others “*at which both the ears of every one that heareth it shall tingle*,” given in that people, may heaven in mercy be graciously pleased to save an offending yet generous nation, from the madness of its governors. Perhaps, “*the place may be spared for the righteous that are therein*”—for they are many.

Nor does *Britain* afford the only example of the avenging calamities that appear in the established œconomy of human affairs, to be bolted, and riveted on *Christian* nations particularly, who engage in such iniquitous enterprises. I say *Christian* nations, for as they offend against greater light, their guilt is more glaring, and their punishment more audaciously invoked. I shall select one more from the roll of national crimes.

Spain, on some part of whose dominions, it is boasted, that the sun is always shining, determined by every cruelty to extinguish the liberty of *The United Provinces*—a dot, that on a map of the globe, must be closely searched for to be discovered. *Spain* was then thick clotted over with *American* gore. A dreadful incumbrance!

The *dot* prevailed against *the wide extended realms* that spread from the confines of the arctic, to those of the antarctic circle, and stretched with belting longitude round both hemispheres. They fell, and—“*Great was*

the fall." The triumph over her by so puny a foe, was beyond expression amazing. The history of mankind could not supply a parallel; and yet—another event took place, that distanced the wonder.

THE MIGHTY POWER, "at which the world turned pale!"

funk—down—exhausted—in the contest. Soon afterwards, in the changeful course of human affairs, it implored and obtained the PROTECTION of the *little* people, which in *its* day of delusion, unconscious of the *preserving* blessing it strove to *destroy*, it had doomed to perdition—against a tyrannic conqueror, who in *his* day of delusion was insultingly "stamping with his feet," upon its debilitated frame.

Let us be admonished by these tremendous examples.

Of all improbabilities, the establishment of a republic in *France*, would some few years ago have been judged *the most improbable*. From principle, magnitude, and connection, it seems to announce a new series of events on earth. "Secret things belong unto the **Lord** our **God**; but those things which are revealed belong unto us, and to our children forever."

The *French* are contending for the rights * granted to them by the charter of their CREA-

* *Nothing can be more evident or more infamous, than the ambition and duplicity with which the combined powers have acted in regard to France.*

TION.* (p 184) "Refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this council, or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but, if it be of GOD, you cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight *against* GOD."

" Towards the close of the summer of 1791, an extraordinary convention took place at Pilnitz ¶ (1) in Saxony, between the emperor Leopold, and the present king of Prussia, between whom, as principals, a treaty was formed, to which other powers are supposed to have afterwards acceded. The professed object of this treaty was sufficiently profligate and atrocious. It was the hostile invasion of France and the new modelling of its government. In his circular letter from Pavia, of the 6th of July, the emperor had avowed a similar intention, and had invited the princes of Europe to co-operate with him in the resistance to those principles so obnoxious to arbitrary authority, which had pervaded France, and which threatened to extend over the whole face of Europe. The league of Pilnitz, however, in which the empress of Russia is also to be considered as principally concerned, is generally supposed to have had more extensive views, and to have involved projects still more offensive, if possible, to the dictates of justice, and to the peace of Europe. The PARTITION of France as well as of Poland, or at least of a considerable portion of the territories of both, among the confederated powers, and a new modelling of the Germanic circles, are strongly suspected to have been the real principles upon which this infamous compact was founded. Dark and mysterious as the conduct of the allied courts has

Our path is very plain. Let us not be inveigled from it, by a mean desire to cover our own faults, by the fanciful notions of a political refinement, or by an unjustifiable rage for speculations upon the welfare of us and our posterity. Let us assert and maintain OUR TRUE CHARACTER—sincerity of thought, and rectitude

been, relative to the substance of the conference, the imprudence of some of the inferior agents has dropped occasional intimations which can leave little doubt of the criminality of their designs. ¶ (2.)

“ Considering, however, the convention of Pilnitz in the most favourable point of view, and accepting the explanation of its express framers, the proceeding is sufficiently unjust and absurd, to warrant the most unqualified censure. If any thing on earth is sacred, it is the domestic œconomy of both nations and individuals. In private life the iniquity of interfering in a hostile manner in the internal state of household concerns of a neighbour, is felt and acknowledged by all mankind. Are then the rights of nations to be accounted less sacred than those of private citizens? Are the lives of millions, who must fall on both sides in such a contest, of less consequence than the poverty or anxiety of individuals. But this is not the worst; the principle, if once admitted, is subversive of every right, and necessarily sanctions every crime that can be committed against society. It sanctions robbery and murder.”

“ France, at the moment when this royal banditti were plotting against her peace, might be said literally to be in a state of internal tranquility.

of action ; and convince the world, that no man, or body of men, whatever advantages may for a while be taken of our unsuspecting

* **NO LANGUAGE CAN BE TOO STRONG, WHEN WE SPEAK OF THE RIGHT OF MAN TO LIBERTY.**

— Permit me to repeat, what above thirty years ago, before many of you whom I am now addressing, were born, I said to your fathers in the awful period, when the clouds that have since rained down so much blood on our land, were beginning to gather.

“ Kings or parliaments could not give the rights essential to happiness, as you confess those invaded by the stamp act to be. We claim them from a higher source—from THE KING OF KINGS and LORD OF ALL THE EARTH. They are not annexed to us by parchments or seals. They are created in us by the decrees of Providence, which establish the laws of our nature. They are born with us ; and cannot be taken from us by any human power, without taking our lives. In short, they are founded on the immutable maxims of reason and justice. It would be an insult on the DIVINE MAJESTY to say, that HE has given or allowed any man or body of men a right to make me miserable. If no man or body of men has such a right, I have a right to be happy. If there can be no happiness without freedom, I have a right to be free. If I cannot enjoy freedom without security of property, I have a right to be thus secured. If my property cannot be secure, in case others, over whom I have no kind of influence, may take it from me by taxes, under pretence of public good;

confidence, shall ever be able to draw this nation out of the direct road of an open, candid, and generous conduct. The sun of truth will sooner or later dissipate the mists of fallacy, and shew things as they really are.

and for enforcing their demands, may subject me to arbitrary, expensive, and remote jurisdictions. I have an exclusive right to lay taxes on my own property, either by myself, or those I can trust; of course to judge in such cases of the public good; and to be exempt from such jurisdictions."

An address to the committee of correspondence, &c. Philadelphia, 1776.

Many of the miseries that proceed from degradation to slavery, are visible. Others more dreadful, are invisible—the vicious dispositions generated in the tyrants and their subjects. Beyond all, is that direful prostration of the Divine Image in man, which nations as well as individuals have experienced—WHEN MEN LOSE EVEN THE DESIRE OF ACTING FROM THE IMPULSE OF THEIR OWN MINDS.

¶ (1) *The treaty of Pavia and that of Pilnitz, are supposed to be to—the same purpose.*

¶ (2) *The following paper, which has since been made public, will serve to unveil this mystery of iniquity, and cannot be read without indignation by any friend of liberty and justice:*

Partition treaty between the courts in concert, concluded and signed at Pavia, in the month of July, 1791.

"His majesty the emperor will retake all that Louis XVI. conquered in the Austrian Nether-

We have nothing to do, but to quit the *new fangled philosophy* of imaginary vortices, and faithfully adhere to the *good old precepts* of common sense, and to the *sound dispositions* of human nature ; with a noble and a pious faith to believe, that there are such things on earth as *gratitude* and *friendship*, *tho' GOD has so formed men*,

lands ; and uniting these provinces to the said Netherländs, will give them to his serene highness the Elector Palatine, so that these new possessions, added to the Palatinate, may hereafter have the name of Austrasia.

“ Her serene highness the Arch-duchess Maria Christina shall be, jointly with his serene highness her nephew, the Arch-duke Charles, put into hereditary possession of the duchy of Loraine.

“ Alsace shall be restored to the empire, and the bishop of Strasburg, as well as the chapter, shall recover their ancient privileges, and the ecclesiastical sovereigns of Germany shall do the same.

“ If the Swiss cantons consent and accede to the coalition, it may be proposed to them to annex to the Helvetic league, the bishopric of Parentrui, the defiles of Franche-Compte, and even those of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailiwicks, as well as the territory of Versoy, which intersects the Pays de Vaud.

“ Should his majesty the king of Sardinia subscribe to the coalition, la Bresse, la Bugey, and the Pays de Géx, usurped by France from Savoy, shall be restored to him.

“ In case his Sardinian majesty can make a grand diversion, he shall be suffered to take Dav-

that they are influenced by a regard for their own interests: in short to return to the wise and just sentiments which we heretofore entertained for those who *first* acknowledged our independence, and let the blessed example to

phiny to belong to him for ever, as the nearest descendant of the ancient dauphins.

“ His majesty the king of Spain shall have Rouillon and Berne, with the island of Corsica, and he shall take possession of the French part of St. Domingo.

“ Her majesty the empress of all the Russias shall take upon herself the invasion of Poland, and at the same time retain Kamminieck, with that part of Podolia which borders on Moldavia.

“ His majesty the emperor shall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the small forts of Servia, and those on the river Lurna.

“ His majesty the king of Prussia, by means of the above-mentioned invasion of the empress of all the Russias in Poland, shall make an acquisition of Thorn and Dantzig, and there unite the Palatinate on the east, to the confines of Silesia.

His majesty the king of Prussia shall besides acquire Lusace, and his serene highness the elector of Saxony shall in exchange receive the rest of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary sovereign.

“ His majesty the present king of Poland shall abdicate the throne, on receiving a suitable annuity.

“ His royal highness the elector of Saxony shall give his daughter in marriage to his serene highness the youngest son of his royal highness the grand duke

others—those who nationally and individually, upon every occasion, through every period of our contest, uniformly and constantly manifested the most affectionate attachment to us—those, to whom under “*A GRACIOUS PROVIDENCE,*” we owe our “*peace, liberty, and*

of all the Russias, who will be the father of the race of the hereditary kings of Poland and Lithuania.

(Signed)

“ *LEOPOLD,*
 “ *PRINCE NASSAU,*
 “ *COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA,*
 “ *BISKHOFFSWERDER.*”

“ The king of England is said to have acceded to this treaty in 1792: And Holland to have acceded afterwards, provided the arrangements respecting their limits with his imperial majesty shall be made according to the desire of the republic before the partition.

“ Spain renounced it when count D'Aranda came into office as minister, giving assurances however of the strictest neutrality.” How well that neutrality has been observed, following actions have shewn.

“ In 1793, general Dumourier entered into an agreement with the prince of Saxe Cobourg, commander of the forces of the combined powers, “ to co-operate in giving to France her constitutional king, and the constitution she formed for herself. On his word of honour, the prince pledged himself, that he would not come upon the French territory to make conquests; but solely for the ends above

safety," as we have repeatedly and solemnly DECLARED TO ALL MANKIND—for ever to renounce the detestable position, that we ought to select them out when surrounded by distress,

specified." He published a proclamation conformable to this declaration.

Some few days afterwards, "A congress of the representatives of the combined powers was assembled at Antwerp—The duke of York and lord Auckland were present on the part of Great-Britain. The particulars of what passed on this important occasion, have not yet transpired—We only know, that it was resolved to commence a plan of active operation against France. The prince of Cobourg was compelled to unsay all that he had set forth with so much solemnity, in his proclamation of the 5th—and A SCHEME OF CONQUEST was formally announced in a new proclamation, which was issued by the same general on the 9th of the same month."

"It was obvious, that so impolitic a step could have no other tendency, than to destroy all confidence in the professions of the allied powers." ¶(3)

All their proceedings were directed by the same insidious and basely selfish policy. "If we observe the conduct," says an excellent British writer, "of those princes with respect to Poland, it will afford the fairest comment on their motives with respect to France." ¶(4)

They frequently published proclamations to deceive, divide, and distract the French nation, but all of them discordant and injurious. They never held out a single plan of accommodation. While they were striving to confound the public mind, they

and fighting the battles of freedom to be the first objects, against whom we are to exert THAT VERY SOVEREIGN POWER THEY WERE INSTRUMENTAL in conferring upon us ; the first people, into whose hearts we are to plunge

steadily and invariably pursued their original design of DISMEMBERING the kingdom, and then establishing a DESPOTIC MONARCHY upon its wretched debris.

¶(3) New Annual Register for 1793, page 165, &c.

¶(4) New Annual Register for 1792, p. 120.

Since these letters were first published, a treatise called “ The Political State of Europe at the beginning of 1796,” has been received.

The author, *Calonne*, late minister of the finances of *France*, under *LEWIS XVI.* whose hopes entirely rest on the restoration of monarchy, a writer of extensive information and eminent talents, a vehement enemy of *French republicanism*, and as warm a friend to the coalesced powers, ascribes the bad success of their measures to the weakly—selfish, cruel and provoking outrages of the confederates. He employs many pages on this subject. The following quotation may be sufficient to shew the iniquity of their proceedings : It is from that part which he entitles—“ INTENTIONS THAT WERE MANIFESTED.”

“ We shall not hesitate to disclose what no pains have been taken to conceal : A throne was to be *re-established*, and its fall has diffused

THOSE VERY SWORDS THAT BY THEIR AID AT THE EXPENCE OF THEIR BLOOD AND THEIR TREASURE have been put into our hands. HEAVEN FORBID! that *American gratitude* should become a by-word among civilized nations to the latest ages, emphatically to de-

an apparent *satisfaction*; an *ostentatious desire* was shewn of *retrieving*, but soon was evinced the *manifest purpose of DISMEMBERING the empire*; those who announced themselves as auxiliaries, soon behaved as *invaders*; oppression was to be opposed, and *unblushing examples* of it were given; the world was scandalized by a *ferocious rapacity*, when it was of so much importance that it should be edified by singular acts of justice; and a war, which ought to have been a war of *general interest, of honour, and generosity*, is become a war of *AGGRANDISEMENT, SELFISHNESS, and ILLIBERAL VIEWS*.

“ We cannot be accused of exaggerating what we should *wish to palliate*; or of arraigning, by rash suppositions, the various intentions of the cabinets of *Europe*: we only speak of appearances: of appearances that have manifested themselves to *every understanding* by facts of *public notoriety*; first, by *equivocal proclamations*, whose *ever-varying complexion* betrayed a *purpose very different* from their *ostensible spirit*; and where the words of *PLEDGE* and *INDEMNITY* but imperfectly veiled *more extended views*; afterwards by the taking of *Valenciennes* in the name of the emperor, and by the union of Cor-

scribe that supremacy of depravity, which no other terms can fully define. Then, indeed, it may be some consolation to our darkened and perverted minds, that "*punic faith*" will be its allied companion.

F A B I U S.

fica to the *British* empire, which, in whatever manner it was effected, has rendered the disinterestedness of *England* as suspicious as that of the other powers.”

Page 19.

This is the language of a man, who for several years has been exerting his utmost efforts to promote the establishment of monarchical government in *France*, by the interference of the combined powers. What less than *truth*, evident to “*every understanding*,” could have induced him to hold such language?

[A NOTE for LETTER IV.]

It does not appear necessary to undertake the laborious and afflictive employment of describing the dreadful mass of miseries that constantly preyed on the poorer classes of the people in France, under the old government.

Let the following extracts from the ingenious, truly philosophical, benevolent, and pious Saint Pierre, author of the celebrated "Studies of Nature," suffice.*

"The district of Caux is the most fertile country in the World. Agriculture, on the great scale, is there carried to the height of perfection. The deepness of the soil, which, in some places, extends to five and six feet; the manure supplied from the stratum of marl over which it is raised, and that of the marine plants on its shores, which are spread over its surface, concur toward clothing it with the noblest vegetables. —

* This work was published in *France*, several years before the revolution.

"It is a singular phenomenon in the history of the present period, that the author of "Studies of Nature," the professed panegyrist and pensioner of *Louis XVI.* should be cared for, should be respected, should be promoted to honour by that very national convention, which dethroned and decapitated his patron and benefactor. Can a stronger testimony be borne to wisdom and virtue!" — Preface to the translation, by *Henry Hunter*, D. D. minister of the *Scots church, London.*

"I happened one day to be walking through this fine country ; and admired, as I went, its plains so well cultivated, and so extensive, that the eye loses itself in the unbounded prospect. Their long ridges of corn, humouring the undulations of the ground and terminating only in villages, and castles surrounded with venerable trees, presented the appearance of a Sea of verdure, with here and there an island rising out of the Horizon. It was in the month of March, and very early in the morning. It blew extremely cold from North-east. I perceived something red running across the fields, at some distance, and making toward the great road, about a quarter of a league before me. I quickened my pace, and got up in time enough to see they were two little girls in red jackets and wooden shoes, who, with much difficulty, were scrambling through the ditch which bounded the road. The tallest, who might be about six or seven years old, was crying bitterly. "Child," said I to her, "what makes you cry, and whither are you going at so early an hour ?" "Sir," replied she, "my poor mother is very ill. There is not a morsel of broth in the whole parish. We are going to that church in the bottom, to try if the Curé of this parish can find us some. I am crying because my little sister is not able to walk any farther." As she spake, she wiped her eyes with a bit of canvas, which served her for a petticoat. On her raising up the rag to her face, I could perceive that she had not the semblance of a shift. *The abject misery* of these children, so poor, in the midst of plains so

“fruitful, wrung my heart. The relief which I could administer to them was small indeed. I myself was then on my way to see misery in other forms.

“The number of wretches is so great, in the best cantons of this province, that they amount to a *fourth*, nay, to a *third* of the inhabitants in every *parish*. The evil is continually on the *increase*. These observations are founded on my personal experience, and on the testimony of many parish-ministers of undoubted veracity. Some Lords of the Manor order a distribution of bread to be made, once a week, to most of their peasantry, to *eke out* their *liveli hood*. Ye stewards of the public, reflect that *Normandy* is the richest of our provinces; and extend your calculations, and your proportions, to *the rest of the kingdom!*—

“*Picardy, Britany, and other provinces, are INCOMPARABLY MORE TO BE PITIED than Normandy.* If there be twenty-one millions of persons in France, as is alledged, there must be then, at least *SEVEN MILLIONS OF PAUPERS.*—

“The wretchedness of the lower orders is the principal source of our phisical and moral maladies.

Vol. 2. page 98—114.

“The persons who discover, and who unveil the evils under which their country labours, are not the enemies which she has to fear; the persons who flatter her, they are her real enemies.—

“As far as I am concerned, I should believe that I had already deserved well of my country,

had I only announced in her ear this awful truth: That she contains in her bosom more than **SEVEN MILLIONS OF POOR**, and that their number has been proceeding in an *increasing* proportion, from year to year, ever since the age of *Louis XVI.*

“ God forbid ! that I should wish or attempt to disturb, much less destroy, the different orders of the State. I would only wish to bring them back to the spirit of their natural institution. Would to God that the clergy would endeavour to merit, by their virtues, the first place, which has been granted to the sacredness of their functions ; that the nobility would give their protection to the citizens, and render themselves formidable only to the enemies of the people ; that the administrators of finance, directing the treasures of the public to flow in the channels of agriculture and commerce, would lay open to merit the road which leads to all useful and honourable employment ; that every woman, exempted, by the feebleness of her constitution, from most of the burthens of society, would occupy herself in fulfilling the duties of her gentle destination, those of wife and mother, and thus cementing the felicity of one family ; that, invested with grace and beauty, she would consider herself as one flower in that wreath of delight, by which Nature has attached man to life ; and while she proved a joy and a crown to her husband in particular, the complete chain of her sex might indissolubly compact all the other bonds of national felicity.

“ THE PEOPLE supports, without any return on my part, the weight of my existence : it is still much worse when they are loaded with the additional burthen of my irregularities. To them I stand accountable for my vices and my virtues, more than to the magistrate. Besides, religion lays me under an express injunction to love them. When she commands me to love men, it is THE PEOPLE she recommends to me, and not the great : to them she attaches all the powers of society, which exist only *by them*, and *for them*. Of a far different spirit from that of modern politics, which present *nations* to kings as *their domains*, she presents kings to nations, as their fathers and defenders. THE PEOPLE WERE NOT MADE FOR KINGS, BUT KINGS FOR THE PEOPLE. I am bound therefore, I who am nothing, and who can do nothing, to contribute my warmest wishes, at least, towards their felicity.

“ Farther, I feel myself constrained, in justice to the commonalty of our own country, to declare, that I know none in *Europe* superior to them in point of generosity, though, liberty excepted, they are THE MOST MISERABLE of all with whom I have had an opportunity to be acquainted. Did time permit, I could produce instances innumerable of their *beneficence*. ”

“ I have remarked, for example, that many of our inferior shop-keepers sell their wares at a lower price to the poor man than to the rich ; and when I asked the reason, the reply was, “ Sir, every body must live.” I have likewise observed, that a great many of the lower order

never haggle, when they are buying from poor people like themselves : " Every one, say they, " must live by his trade." I saw a little child, one day, buying greens from a herb-woman : she filled a large apron with the articles which he wanted, and took a penny : on my expressing surprize at the quantity which she had given him, she said to me, " I would not, Sir, have given so much to a grown person ; but, I would not for the world take advantage of a child." I knew a man of the name of *Christal*, in the *rue de la Magdelaine*, whose trade was to go about selling Auvergne-waters, and who supported for five months, *gratis*, an upholsterer, of whom he had no knowledge, and whom a law-suit had brought to *Paris*, because, as he told me, that poor upholsterer, the whole length of the road, in a public carriage, had, from time to time, given an arm to his sick wife. That same man had a son eighteen years old, a paralytic and changeling from his birth, whom he maintained with the tenderest attachment, without once consenting to his admission into the hospital of incurables, though frequently solicited to that effect, by persons who had interest sufficient to procure it : " God," said he to me, " has given me the poor youth : it is my duty to take care of him." I have no doubt that he still continues to support him, though he is under the necessity of feeding him with his own hands, and has the farther charge of a frequently ailing wife.

“ I should never have done, were I to indulge myself in detailing anecdotes of this sort.* They would be found worthy of the admiration of the rich, were they extracted from the history of savages, or from that of the Roman emperors; were they two thousand years old, or had they taken place two thousand leagues off. They would amuse their imagination, and tranquilize their avarice. *Our own commonality undoubtedly, well deserves to be loved.* I am able to demonstrate, that their moral goodness is the firmest support of government, and that, notwithstanding their own necessities, to them our soldiery is indebted for the supple-

**The following instance of benevolence cannot be too much commended. It took place on capt. Thurot's attack, on Carrickfergus, in Ireland, in the year 1760.*

“ One circumstance that attended this dispute, deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as an instance of that courage, mingled with humanity, which constitutes true heroism. While the *French* and *English* were hotly engaged in one of the streets, a little child ran playfully between them, having no idea of the danger to which it was exposed: *a common soldier of the enemy*, perceiving the life of this poor innocent at stake, grounded his piece, advanced deliberately between the lines of fire, took up the child in his arms, conveyed it to a place of safety; then returned to his own place, resumed his musket, and renewed his hostility.”

Smollett's *Cont. of the History of England, Vol. 3, page 392.*

ment to their miserable pittance of pay, and that to them the innumerable poor with whom the kingdom swarms, owe a subsistence wrung from penury itself.

“ *SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX ESTO*, said the ancients: let the safety of the people be the paramount law, because their misery is the general misery. This axiom ought to be so much the more sacred in the eyes of legislators and reformers, that no law can be of long duration, and no plan of reform reduced into effect, unless *THE HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE* is previously secured. Out of their miseries abuses arise, are kept up, and are renewed. —

“ *CRIMES SPRING UP ONLY FROM THE EXTREMES OF INDIGENCE AND OPULENCE*.

“ Immense landed property is still more injurious than that of money and of employments, because it deprives the other citizens, at once, of the social and of the natural patriotism. Besides, it comes, in process of time, into the possession of those who have the employments and the money; it reduces all the subjects of the State to dependance upon them, and leaves them no resource for subsistence but the cruel alternative, of degrading themselves by a base flattery of the passions of those who have got all the power and wealth in their hands, or of going into exile. These three causes combined, the last especially, precipitated the ruin of the *Roman* empire, from the reign of *Trajan*, as *Pliny* has very justly remarked. They have already banished from *France* more subjects than the revocation of the edict of *Nantes* did.

When I was in *Prussia*, in the year 1765, of the hundred and fifty thousand regular troops which the king then maintained, a full third was computed to consist of *French* deserters. I by no means consider that number as exaggerated, for I myself remarked, that all the soldiers on guard, wherever I passed, were composed, to a third at least, of *Frenchmen*; and such guards are to be found at the gates of all the cities, and in all the villages on the great road, especially toward the frontier.

“When I was in the *Russian* service, they reckoned near three thousand teachers of language of our nation in the city of *Moscow*, among whom I knew a great many persons of respectable families, advocates, young ecclesiastics, gentlemen, and even officers. *Germany* is filled with our wretched compatriots.”

Vol. 4. 99-119.

Such has been the deplorable state of that most fertile country, *France*, for ages past. Its government has been in constant counteraction to the blessings bestowed upon it by Heaven. But—there is a REACTION in the operations of injustice and cruelty, the remarkable instances of which demonstrate how much safer, if better principles do not persuade, it is to be benefactors than oppressors.

" Delightful land! Ah, now with general voice,
 " Thy village sons and daughters may rejoice,
 " Thy happy peasant now no more, a slave
 " Forbad to taste one good that NATURE gave,
 " Views with the anguish of indignant pain
 " The bounteous harvest *spread for him in vain.*
 " Oppression's cruel hand shall dare no more
 " To seize with iron gripe his scanty store,
 " And from his famish'd infants wring those spoils,
 " The hard-earn'd produce of his useful toils:
 " For now, on Gallia's plain the peasant knows
 " Those equal rights impartial HEAV'N bestows.
 " He now by freedom's ray illumin'd, taught
 " Some self-respect, some energy of thought,
 " Discerns the blessings *that to all belong,*
 " And lives to guard his humbled head from wrong.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

In Page 22, for "consideration," read "confederation."

42, for "power," read "authority."

ib. for "speculations" read "expectations."

51, for "landing" read "landed."

57, for "Phlyarzrians" read "Phlyazians."

66, for "they answered," read "it is answered."

78, for "now more than" read "now than."

103, for "nature shrinks" read "natures shrink."

125, for "Bosom" read "Befom."

160, for "communication" read "communion."